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ABSTRACT

Unit 3 of a six-unit series on Indiana state history designed to be taught in Indiana secondary schools tells the story of Indiana from 1829 to 1908. Chapter 1 discusses national issues in an Indiana context. The effects of social movements such as Abolition, the underground railroad, and the Fugitive Slave Law on Indiana politics are examined. The events leading up to the Civil War and how they impacted on Indiana are also highlighted in this chapter. The Civil War years are the subject of Chapter 2. Chapter 3 shows the relationship between Indiana politics and the national political scene. Issues concerning large campaign funds spent in Indiana in the 1880 election and attempts to control the problem of excessive political spending are discussed, as are the Indiana manifestations of various social issues of the second half of the 19th century such as women's suffrage, the temperance movement, and vigilante groups. (SM)

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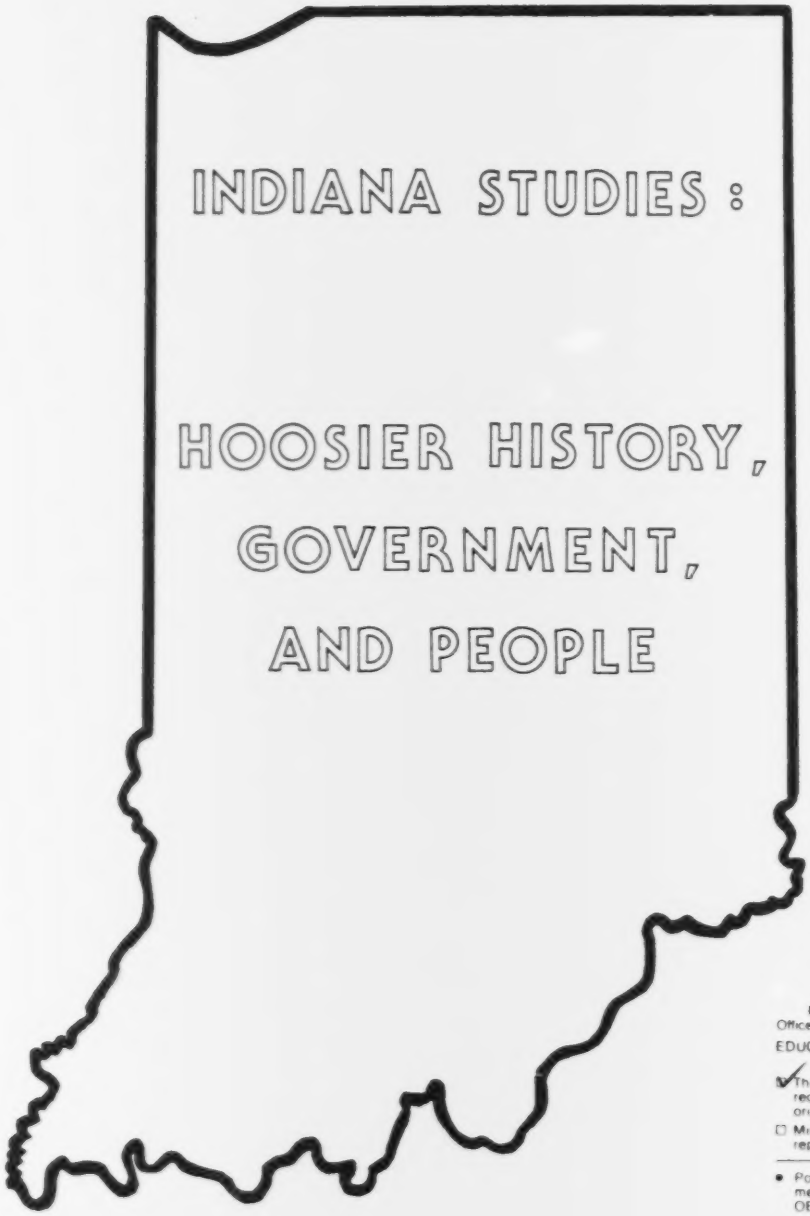
HOOSIER HISTORY, GOVERNMENT, AND PEOPLE



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UNIT III - From Sectional Division to Political Unity

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INDIANA STUDIES: HOOSIER HISTORY, GOVERNMENT, AND PEOPLE

- AUTHORS -

Harry D. Barger
Forest Park Elementary School, Fort Wayne

Lida Barker
Roosevelt High School, Gary

Don R. Evans
Northside Junior High School, Fort Wayne

Patricia A. Gunkel
formerly of Brown County High School, Nashville
and currently at Frisco, Colorado

Joseph T. Krause
West Lafayette High School, West Lafayette

- CONTRIBUTORS -

Tom L. Kattau
Northridge High School, Middlebury

Jane Lowrie Bacon
Indiana Department of Public Instruction Division of Curriculum, Indianapolis

- HISTORICAL RESEARCHER -

Mary Jane Meeker
Education Consultant, Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis

- EDITOR -

C. Frederick Risinger
Executive Secretary, Indiana Council for the Social Studies
Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University
513 North Park Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana 47405

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INDIANA STUDIES: HOOSIER HISTORY, GOVERNMENT, AND PEOPLE

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UNIT III - FROM SECTIONAL DIVISION TO POLITICAL UNITY

TIME LINE

1829 - Indiana's first temperance society organized in Indianapolis.

1836 - Indiana's first anti-slavery society organized in Decatur County.

1850 - The Compromise of 1850 includes the Fugitive Slave Law.

1852 - Indiana General Assembly creates a state colonization fund.
- Uncle Tom's Cabin is published and gains great popularity.

1854 - The newly-formed People's Party wins an election victory over the Democrats in Indiana.

1860 - Republicans have become the strongest political party in Indiana.

1861 - Oliver P. Morton became governor of Indiana.
- Fort Sumter attacked and Indiana answers the call to arms.

1863 - Federal draft approved and Colonel Conrad Baker appointed as federal agent in Indiana.
- Morgan's raid into Indiana.
- Emancipation Proclamation; blacks are allowed to enlist to meet Indiana's quota.

1864 - Harrison Dodd, a minor democratic politician, is on trial for treason on the eve of the election.

1867 - Morton is chosen as Senator.

1876 - "Blue Jeans" Williams defeats Benjamin Harrison as governor.

1881 - Article XIII of Indiana's Constitution is repealed.

1888 - Hoosier Benjamin Harrison is elected President.

1889 - Indiana adopts the Australian Ballot; general election in Indiana moved from October to November.
- Laws passed to control vigilante groups.

1892 - First state manual to provide uniform school programs for each grade.

1897 - Compulsory school attendance law.

1908 - Legislature passes a "County option" liquor law.

Unit III - FROM SECTIONAL DIVISION TO POLITICAL UNITY

INTRODUCTION

The Civil War is a major event in our nation's history that you immediately recognize. Probably you would recognize the fact that slavery played a role in this conflict. Names like Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses Grant and Robert E. Lee may be familiar to you. At the time Lincoln was President, do you know what was happening in Indiana?

Unit III begins with the issues leading to the Civil War. Slavery was not the only issue. Temperance (making alcoholic beverages illegal) also affected Indiana politics. Chapter Two discusses Indiana's role in the War Between the States. You will learn how the War affected Indiana's politics for the next three decades. Chapter Three brings Indiana out of the issues of the War and shows how Hoosier voters were a major factor in national elections. Hoosiers like Oliver P. Morton, "Blue Jeans" Williams, and Benjamin Harrison will become familiar names. You will be able to answer the question: How did the national issues of the period 1840-1890 affect Indiana politics?

Unit III
Chapter 1 - SECTIONAL ISSUES AFFECT INDIANA POLITICS
Section 1 - Slavery and Temperance

- What was the importance of slavery in early Indiana?
- What were the goals of the colonization societies?
- What were the goals of the antislavery societies?
- What were the goals of the temperance crusade?

A typical school debate topic in the 1840's was: "Which is the greater evil, slavery or intemperance?" During the 1840's and 1850's in Indiana there were crusades against both the evils of slavery and the evils of alcohol. Many people believed strongly in the need for laws to eliminate slavery and prohibit the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. These issues would have a significant effect on Indiana politics during the next twenty years.

Slavery in Indiana

Slavery was prohibited in the Indiana Territory by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and by Indiana's first Constitution in 1816. However, some slavery still existed. As early as 1746, slaves were mentioned in documents from Vincennes, the largest French settlement. A bill of sale dated 1766 shows that Major Francis Bosseron of Vincennes purchased a slave on the Mississippi River to be delivered at Vincennes.

Pro-slavery supporters were most numerous in southwestern Indiana. Some new settlers brought slaves with them when they came from the South, especially from Kentucky and South Carolina. Even after slavery was outlawed, slaves continued to be bought and sold in Indiana. Sometimes they were "freed" and then forced to sign contracts for long terms of indentured service. On July 4, 1814 in Gibson County, Robert M. Evans emancipated (freed) John Born, who had formerly been a slave in Virginia. On July 5th it was recorded that John Born became the indentured servant of Evans for a term of thirty years. In December of the same year John Born was sold to Nathaniel Evans for $550. Before 1820, blacks, slaves and servants are mentioned frequently in wills found in Knox and Clark County.

Throughout the early period of Indiana's history, the black population, whether slave or free, was very small. The 1810 census lists 23,890 whites and only 630 blacks in Indiana. There were 237 blacks listed as slaves and 393 as free. No records show how many of the 393 were indentured servants, although many probably were. By 1830 all traces of slavery in Indiana had virtually disappeared.

Black Migration to Indiana

The census of 1820 recorded only 1,420 blacks in Indiana. By 1860, this number had grown to 11,428. Why do you think there was such a change during this forty-year period? Look at Indiana on a map. What effect would the location of the

state have on these changing population figures? Obviously, this was a period of black migration into the Hoosier state. At the same time, the white population was growing just as fast. At no time before the Civil War did blacks make up more than 1% of Indiana's population.

The black people who migrated into the state can be divided into three categories: (1) free persons from other states, (2) emancipated slaves from the South, and (3) fugitive (runaway) slaves. These people settled first in the counties along the Ohio River, because the river provided easy access to Indiana. By the time of the Civil War, the population began to shift slightly to the northern counties.

Restrictive Laws in Indiana

Indiana had "Black Laws" similar to those in many southern states. Here are three examples:

1. Act of 1806 -- Servants or slaves found 10 miles or more from the home of their master were subject to a public whipping.

2. Act of 1807 -- Prohibited the sale of liquor to slaves or servants.

3. Act of 1808 -- Made it unlawful for anyone to permit three or more slaves or servants to gather on their property "for the purpose of dancing or revelling either by night or day."

What do you think was the purpose of these laws?

Both the Indiana Constitutions of 1816 and 1851 limited the right to vote to white males. All public schools were exclusively for white children, although by the 1870's separate schools were provided for blacks in areas with large

black populations. Black people couldn't testify against whites in court until 1865. Article XIII in the Constitution of 1851 prohibited blacks from coming into the state to settle and encouraged colonization in Liberia for those already living in the state.

What do these laws tell you about the attitudes of people in Indiana towards blacks before the Civil War? Would you expect people in Indiana to support freeing the slaves in the Southern states? Why or why not?

Colonization Societies

Colonization societies existed in Indiana between 1829 and the 1850's. "Colonization" meant setting up separate countries in Africa where American blacks could be sent. The first was the Indiana Colonization Society in Indianapolis with Jesse L. Holman as its first President. Many politicians, in Indiana and throughout the nation saw colonization as a solution to the problem of slavery and the tension between the races. The Indiana Legislature passed several resolutions in favor of colonization. The 1852 General Assembly even passed a law creating a state fund for colonization, and an agent was employed to persuade and assist blacks to emigrate to Africa.

But colonization failed. Black people did not want to go to Africa. Just as people with German or Irish names didn't feel like Germans or Irish, blacks in Indiana didn't feel like Africans. They had been born and raised in America

and wanted to remain. The colonization idea was an unsuccessful attempt to solve one of the major problems that led to the Civil War.

Antislavery Societies

In the 1820's, churches had been strong financial supporters of the colonization societies. When it became obvious that most supporters of colonization believed blacks were inferior and simply wanted to get rid of them, the churches withdrew their support. Instead, they began to support emancipation (freeing) of the slaves and their equal status as citizens. This led to the development of antislavery societies.

The first antislavery society in Indiana was organized in Decatur County in 1836. About the same time, a similar group was organized by nine students at Hanover College. Many local societies followed, most of them organized by churches. The largest number of antislavery societies were in counties where large numbers of Quakers lived, including Wayne, Randolph, Henry, Rush, Union, Grant, and Jay Counties. Churches in some areas divided over the issue of slavery.

Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad wasn't a railroad at all, but a group of individuals who helped slaves escape to freedom. The long river border with Kentucky, a slave state, made Indiana a natural escape route.

Map of the "Underground Railroad" in Indiana.
—By Lewis Falley, of Lafayette.

Both black and white people helped escaping slaves on the Underground Railroad. The black "conductors" were near Madison, New Albany, and Jeffersonville along the Ohio River. In the counties further north, most of the conductors were white, often Quaker, and from towns which were centers of antislavery activity. Levi Coffin was one of the most well-known leaders of the Underground Railroad.

Values and Actions

Values are strong beliefs about what is good or bad, right or wrong. They are beliefs people stand up for and

defend. People may be willing to die for some values such as freedom or religion. Values are stronger than likes and dislikes, and people make choices about their behavior based on their values. For example, if you value obeying rules and a group of friends wants you to skip school, based on your values you will stay even though you would like to go with your friends. Values are beliefs which affect actions.

People like Levi Coffin and others who worked on the Underground Railroad acted upon their values. The following chart gives you an example of values affecting actions. On another sheet of paper, make a chart of your own and complete it.

	Values	Actions
Workers on Underground Railroad	Freedom. Equal treatment for all people.	Aided runaway slaves. Broke the law to help slaves.
Members of colonization societies		
Members of antislavery societies		
Members of temperance groups		
Owners of slaves and indentured servants		

Temperance Crusade

The crusade against alcohol was going on at the same time that the antislavery organizations were active in Indiana. Both causes attracted the same people, and both were closely associated with churches. They began with moral arguments on the evils of slavery and alcohol, and later used political activities, leaflets, and demonstrations to achieve their goals.

The first state temperance society was organized in Indianapolis in 1829. In the 1840's, the Washingtonian movement attracted followers in Indiana. Founded in Baltimore by a group of reformed drunkards, its members were required to take a pledge not to use intoxicants, not to buy or sell them, and to discourage their use throughout the community.

A secret organization, the Sons of Temperance, was the most successful Hoosier temperance society. The first lodge was formed at Brookdale in 1845, and by 1850, 336 lodges existed in the state. Influential men like bankers, lawyers, and businessmen made up much of the membership. Sons of Temperance were required to be total abstainers. They could not "make, buy, sell, or use as a beverage, any spiritous or malt liquors, wine, or cider." They were required to educate people on the evils of alcohol and to reform drunkards.

Publications and camp meetings were used to persuade the public to support the temperance cause. In 1852, a temperance revival day was held in Indianapolis. Governor Wright and other prominent citizens signed the temperance pledge. According to newspaper reports, 900 of the "hardest cases" signed the pledge and joined the order.

Temperance Legislation

In 1847 the General Assembly, partly because of pressure from the temperance societies, passed a law which allowed voters in a township to prevent the licensing of liquor shops by voting against them in a popular referendum. Few local elections were held and the temperance groups tried to make selling alcoholic beverages a statewide crime. Governor Dunning recommended such a law but it was not passed by the Legislature.

Opposition to Temperance Laws

Members of the General Assembly also felt pressure from groups who didn't want to make alcohol illegal. People who made money in manufacturing or selling alcohol were opposed to laws restricting its manufacture, use and sale. Indiana also had a large German population; drinking was an accepted part of their culture, and they were very opposed to regulation. Other people simply felt that to wipe out the liquor business and label all people who drink alcohol as criminals was too extreme. They also believed that the laws would be too difficult to enforce.

Conclusion

These two topics--slavery and temperance--dominated Indiana politics between 1840 and 1860. People on both sides of these issues felt very strongly that the government should make laws to support their views. It was inevitable that people with such opposing values who felt so strongly about their beliefs would clash with each other.

Checkpoint

1. Explain why slavery in early Indiana was found mainly in the southern part of the state.
2. Describe the attitude of people towards blacks in Indiana before 1850. What evidence do you have to support your conclusion?
3. How were the goals of the colonization societies different from the goals of the antislavery societies?

4. Describe the values of people who would join the colonization societies and the antislavery societies. How are they alike? How are they different?

5. Design a poster to persuade people to join an antislavery society or temperance group.

6. Why might people who join antislavery societies also join temperance societies? Consider what values they might have in common.

7. Imagine you are a politician in Indiana in 1840. You need all the votes you can get to be elected. Write a brief speech that would appeal to the supporters of colonization, antislavery and temperance groups.

Unit III
Chapter 1
Section 2 - Hoosier Reaction to Compromise of 1850

- Why was there a need for a Compromise in 1850?
- How did Indiana feel about the Compromise of 1850?

By 1850 the nation was experiencing a conflict that threatened to divide it. Though slavery had disappeared from Indiana, the issue of slavery's extension into the territories west of the Mississippi River divided Indiana and the nation. Let's examine this conflict and its effect on Indiana politics.

The Political Climate in Indiana

The Democrats held political power in Indiana throughout the 1840's. In 1850 all of Indiana's state officers were Democrats, and they also controlled the Legislature. Both U.S. Senators and 8 out of 10 Representatives in Washington were Democrats. Only briefly, in the early 1840's, had the opposing Whig party controlled the state Legislature.

The Democratic Party in Indiana was based on the ideas of both Jefferson and Jackson. Governor Joseph A. Wright, elected in 1849, reflected these ideas when he emphasized state's rights and criticized the "vast machinery of the national government" and the increased amounts of money spent by Congress. He believed that hopes for preserving the Union rested on "the adoption...of legislation that throws the

several States and Territories of the Union more and more upon their own resources and confines the action of the General Government within the limits of the Constitution." The Democrats wanted to follow the Constitution closely and didn't want the federal government to take any rights away from the states.

- Describe in your own words the position of the Democratic party in 1850. How would the Democrats feel about the federal government regulating slavery or alcohol in Indiana?
- Governor Wright complained about politicians who wanted federal aid for Indiana. As a Democrat, why do you think he would feel this way?

Governor Wright was responsible for the following inscription which was engraved on a block of Indiana limestone and placed in the Washington monument. "Indiana knows no North, no South, nothing but the Union."

- What do you think he meant by this quote? Why do you think he chose such a quote for Indiana?
- Look at the geographical location of Indiana. In what ways might Indiana have strong ties with the South?
- Would you expect Indiana to have stronger ties with the East or the West in 1850? Why?
- Think of how Indianapolis or Fort Wayne or Terre Haute might compare with New York or Boston. Would Indiana be classified as a Southern or Northern state? Why?

Indiana tended to think of itself as a Western state and as a loyal member of the Union. However, Indiana had developed strong ties to the Southern states through trade,

especially along the Ohio River. People in Indiana sometimes felt that Easterners made fun of Hoosiers and emphasized their lack of sophistication. Governor Wright, who was very popular, liked to emphasize his background as a farm boy who had worked hard to make good; while attending Indiana University, he had worked as a janitor. He supported agriculture, temperance, and colonization, as did many other Indiana leaders.

Indiana saw itself as a balance between the South and the Northeast. In this way, Hoosiers hoped to be a strong force for preserving the Union. But the political issues of 1850 would bring Indiana into the sectional conflict.

The Free Soil Party

The major political issue of 1848 was whether slavery should be allowed or forbidden in the territory acquired during the Mexican War. Both major political parties in Indiana looked for a compromise position on slavery that would attract the most voters and preserve the Union. Both the Hoosier Whigs and Democrats felt that complete prohibition of slavery was too extreme. A typical position was expressed by Richard Thompson of Terre Haute, who argued that slavery was evil but that the government must recognize the rights of slave-holding states. Congress could control slavery in the territories, but a position of compromise seemed to be more appropriate.

Politicians who found the compromise position of the Democrats and Whigs unacceptable met to organize a third party, the Free Soil Party. As their name suggests, they wanted to see slavery absolutely prohibited in the territories. In the 1848 election, they were so successful that both the Whigs and Democrats added Free Soil ideas to their platforms in Indiana. In 1849 an abolitionist, George Julian, was elected to the U.S. Congress. The following year, the Indiana General Assembly passed a resolution asking Congress to prohibit slavery in the Mexican Territory. Although it appears that Hoosiers reached agreement in 1850 on the question of slavery in the Mexican Territory, it wasn't that simple. Later events show that the parties adopted this stand in order to gain votes. Attempts at a national compromise in 1850 caused the disagreements among Indiana politicians to flare up again.

A Need to Compromise

The decision on whether or not to allow slavery in the territories was intensified in 1850 when California became the first state from the Mexican Territory to ask to enter the Union. At that time there were 15 free and 15 slave states. It was clear that California would come in as a free state. What problem would be caused in Congress if California entered the Union as a free state?

The population in the Northern, free states was now larger than in the South. Southerners feared losing their

voice in the House of Representatives, where membership is based on population. Southern leaders felt it was important that either these Western states be allowed to have slavery or the South should receive other concessions.

The congressional Compromise of 1850 contained the following provisions:

1. California entered the Union as a free state.
2. The rest of the Mexican Territory would decide the slavery question by popular sovereignty. This means the people living there would vote on whether or not to allow slavery.
3. A stricter Fugitive Slave Law was passed to return runaway slaves and punish those who helped them escape.
4. The buying or selling of slaves in the nation's capitol was forbidden.

- Which items in the compromise would the South have wanted? What did the South give up?
- Which items in the compromise would the North have wanted? What did the North give up?

Indiana Votes for Compromise

Indiana's citizens and politicians were concerned that the debate over the extension of slavery would destroy the Union. Because of their strong Union ties, Hoosiers urged compromise. Desire to save the Union was stronger than the need to stop the spread of slavery. Indiana's economic strength depended on trade with both the Southern states and those in the Northeast. Therefore, slavery became less important than keeping the peace. Free Soil ideas became less popular in Indiana.

Hoosier congressmen voted for the Compromise of 1850, with the only area of disagreement being the Fugitive Slave Law. Five Indiana Representatives in the House voted against this part of the Compromise. This gives us a clue to the issue that concerned Hoosiers after 1850. Governor Wright made several speeches that summer declaring he "knew no North, or South, nothing but the common brotherhood of all, working for the common good." He emphasized the need to accept the compromise and the Union.

The Fugitive Slave Law

Public opinion in the state generally supported the Compromise of 1850, but many found the Fugitive Slave Law objectionable. This raised a serious question for many people: whether or not to obey a law they felt was wrong.

The Sunday after the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, the minister of the Kingston Presbyterian Church closed his sermon by saying:

> "To law framed of such iniquity (wickedness), I owe no allegiance...I will act with any body of decent or serious men...in any mode not involving the use of deadly weapons, to nullify (cancel out) and defeat the operation of law."

What values are expressed in the quote? What actions would you expect this man to take based on his values?

Some Democratic newspapers were outspoken in their hatred of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was described as "atrocious" and "repugnant (repulsive) to all the feeling of a man

living in a free state." More moderate newspapers declared that such remarks would divide the Democratic Party. The moderates urged acceptance of the Compromise as the final solution to the North-South conflict. They felt that the constitutional rights of slaveholders must be protected or the Union would be dissolved. The Fugitive Slave Law was the price that had to be paid for peace.

People who worked to abolish slavery, known as abolitionists, were a minority in Indiana, but they were a dedicated and vocal minority and the Fugitive Slave Law was their major target. The law had the effect of strengthening anti-slavery supporters in Indiana.

Incidents involving runaway slaves aroused great sympathy from many people in Indiana. In 1852, the famous book Uncle Tom's Cabin met with great success in Indiana. "Hundreds and hundreds sat up all night to finish it," recalled one Hoosier reader. The book stirred emotions and increased concern over the Fugitive Slave Law. At this time an incident occurred in Indianapolis to give people the evidence they needed to believe that the evils of slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law were true. The story of John Freeman is described in the Hoosier Profile on page 00. It is a story that was closely followed throughout the state and had a significant effect on public opinion. It strengthened opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law.

Political Response to the Compromise of 1850

Politicians in Indiana appealed to people for and against the Compromise of 1850. The Democrats, traditionally in control in Indiana, tried to silence the opposition by emphasizing the Compromise as a solution to the nation's problem. In his message to the Legislature, Governor Wright declared that Indiana voters would not support anyone who wanted to reopen the issues which had been settled by the Compromise.

Democrats on the ballot in 1852 were mainly from the southern part of Indiana. Northern Democrats had weakened their position by supporting Free Soil principles, especially the prohibition of slavery in the territories. The Whigs tried to ignore the issue of slavery in the campaign, but Hoosier voters were not interested in this approach. The Fugitive Slave Law made slavery a major issue in Indiana.

As expected, the Democrats won an overwhelming victory in 1852. The only exception was one Whig Congressman. Democrats thought the results were a statement of support for the Compromise of 1850 and that Indiana voters were tired of hearing about slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law. You will learn that the Democrats were wrong. The antislavery people renewed their crusade against slavery, and events in the Kansas territory would lead to a new political party that would end Democratic control in Indiana.

Hoosier Profile: John Freeman

John Freeman's mind wandered into the past as the train slowly pulled out of Union Station in Indianapolis. He reflected upon the past events which had brought him to his decision to leave. From the window he saw young men, almost boys really, clustered in large numbers on the platform. Obviously they were excited volunteers eager to fight in the recently declared Civil War. John wished he was as sure as they were about a Union victory. He still had fears that the South would win. As a black man with a recent history of trouble, he couldn't take a chance and stay. Canada would be much safer.

It was hard to leave his home and garden, but the restaurant was gone. Still, he'd miss all the people in Indianapolis who had helped him. He had been happy in Indianapolis after coming from Georgia in 1844. He still felt bitter when he thought about events of 1853 which had changed his life.

It was in 1853 that Pleasant Ellington had come from Missouri to Indianapolis to file a claim with the U.S. Commissioner that John Freeman was his escaped slave Sam. Ellington claimed that the escape took place in Kentucky in 1836. John still remembered the arrest, being held without bail, and the nine long weeks he waited for the hearing. With a shudder he thought of what could have happened without the talented lawyers, John Ketcham, John Coburn and Lucian Barbour, who gathered the evidence that proved he had never been a slave.

Seven witnesses had come all the way from Georgia to testify. Others swore that the real Sam was in Canada and looked nothing like John, yet Ellington and his witnesses still claimed that John was Sam the runaway. Finally, Ellington left Indianapolis. John had won, but his victory had cost him his restaurant and now he was forced to leave his home. He doubted he could ever recover from the financial losses. The court had awarded him $2,000 from Ellington, but Ellington was gone--probably never to be found. Without the help of influential people in Indianapolis, he could not have covered the cost of his two guards for the nine weeks. He had won the suit against the Marion County Circuit Court and the U.S. Marshall who imprisoned him, but it was a technical victory. Their acts had been unlawful--assault, forcing him to strip for searching and then making him pay for his own guards--but the court refused to order any type of reimbursement. And now, he was even leaving his house behind.

The conductor came down the aisle and that brought John Freeman's mind back to the Hoosier corn fields and forests passing by. A final thought crossed his mind as he returned to the present. At least many Hoosier newspapers had reacted with outrage to his plight. Maybe his case would help others resist the injustices of the hated Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. He wondered how many other black men and women who did not have money and friends had been forced into slavery.

Chapter Checkpoint

1. Describe the goals of the Democratic Party, which was strong in Indiana in 1850.

2. Explain why Indiana in 1850 felt closer to the states of the South and West than the states in the East.

3. Explain the major points in the Compromise of 1850.

4. Do you think both sections of the country received equal treatment in the Compromise of 1850? Give at least two reasons for your answer.

5. Why did Hoosier Congressmen vote for the Compromise of 1850?

6. Explain why the Fugitive Slave Law was such an unpopular part of the Compromise of 1850 for Hoosiers.

7. If people were opposed to slavery, do you think they should have knowingly broken the law and helped runaway slaves or should they have refused to help? Why or why not?

8. Why did John Freeman feel it was necessary to leave Indiana? What problems with the Fugitive Slave Law are suggested by his experience?

Unit III
Chapter 1
Section 3 - Political Power

- Why did political power in Indiana shift from the Democrats to the Republicans?
- What is the relationship between national issues and politics in Indiana?

After the Democratic sweep in Indiana's election of 1852, abolitionist George Julian declared that people should rejoice at the death and ruin of the Whig party. He also claimed that differences in the Democratic party would destroy that party's power. Julian predicted that out of the ruin of these two parties would rise a new party. Within a year, his prediction came true with the formation of the Republican Party. Republicans would eventually dominate Indiana politics as the Democrats had done earlier.

Kansas-Nebraska Act

The land west of Indiana, between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, was the Louisiana Territory. Slavery had been an issue in this vast area since its purchase in 1803. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 temporarily solved the problem by dividing the territory into two sections. Slavery was allowed in the southern section, but prohibited in the northern part.

In 1854 a bill was introduced in Congress to organize the northern section of the Louisiana Territory into the

Kansas and Nebraska Territories. The bill provided for popular sovereignty to decide the issue of slavery. This meant that the citizens of the territory could choose whether to be a slave or a free state. Since this changed the provisions of the earlier compromise, it angered many people--especially abolitionists.

Most Hoosiers saw the Missouri Compromise as a solemn pledge and were upset to see it broken by allowing popular sovereignty. The argument that since Utah and New Mexico were allowed to vote on slavery, all territories should vote on slavery was not accepted in Indiana. White farmers wanted to keep the territories free so they could homestead out West without competition from large landowners with cheap slave labor.

The Democratic Party Divides

Democratic newspapers were the first to show the division within the party. A powerful party paper, the Indianapolis Sentinel, called anyone who opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill an abolitionist. The Free Democrat declared that the Democrats first tried to stop the argument over slavery and now with this bill they were encouraging it. Though most of Indiana's congressmen voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, its passage did not stop the opposition within the Democratic Party. When the state party convention met in 1854, it was clear there was going to be a fight.

At the convention, a resolution was passed supporting

the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Support of this resolution was seen as a test of loyalty to the party, and those who refused to support it were forced out of the party. Men who left the Democratic Party were against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Also, they were upset by the party's stand on temperance (forbidding the sale of alcoholic beverages) in Indiana.

The 1853 Legislature had passed a local option law allowing voters in each township to decide whether or not to allow the sale of liquor in their area. If liquor was allowed, it had to be strictly licensed. A few months after it was passed, the local option law was declared unconstitutional by the state Supreme Court. The Court ruled that the law violated the 1851 Constitution which stated that all laws must be of "general and uniform (same) operation throughout the state." The judges believed that different local laws in each township meant the liquor laws were not uniform.

The failure of local option laws convinced the temperance forces that the absolute prohibition of liquor was the only answer. The Free Democrat, the newspaper which opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, called for a prohibition law. The paper predicted that this would be a major election issue.

The Prohibition and Abolition Forces Unite

In January, 1854 the largest convention of temperance supporters was held in Indiana. Over 1,000 people attended, including clergymen, abolitionists, colonizationists, Democrats, Whigs and Free Soilers. They were all united in their

determination to prohibit the manufacture, use and sale of liquor by law in Indiana. Liquor was described as "the scourage (meaning scourge or destroyer) of our land--the fountain of crime, the source of untold social and political evils."

They declared that no law would suit them unless it provided for "seizure, confiscation and destruction of liquor!" Based on this belief, they vowed to support no candidate for political office who did not support this position.

As you already know, the Democratic Party convention in 1854 supported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, but failed to include a strong statement against alcohol. They were not influenced by the temperance forces. They agreed that liquor was a great moral and social evil that should be controlled.

However, the party opposed laws which called for "the searching for, or seizure, confiscation, and destruction of private property." The party would not support laws that totally eliminated the sale and manufacture of liquor. The lack of strong support encouraged temperance supporters to leave the Democratic party.

The German and Irish Voters

A third factor affected the 1854 election. In 1850, 55,000 foreign-born persons lived in Indiana. The number more than doubled by 1860. From the beginning, foreign-born voters tended to vote Democratic. Indiana's Constitution of 1851 granted immigrants the right to vote after a year in residence in the U.S., provided they stated their intention to become a citizen.

Most of the immigrants were German and Irish. They were large enough groups to have political power. Many of them were Roman Catholics, which made them a minority in Protestant-dominated Indiana. Hostility and fear towards their religion created concern over the political power of these immigrants. This fear-based prejudice led to organization of a "Know-Nothing" lodge in Lawrenceburg. The movement spread to other areas in Indiana, and the Know-Nothings became a political force. They got their name because they were a secret society at first. When members were asked about the group, they were supposed to say that they "know nothing." They criticized Catholics because of their loyalty to the

Pope in Rome. They believed that the Pope would try to influence politics and education in America. To remove the threat of Catholic influence, the Know-Nothings called for laws to make it more difficult to become a citizen and restrictions on immigration, especially from Catholic countries. The Democratic Party opposed the Know-Nothing ideas and condemned any organization "that would aim to disrobe (remove from) any citizen, native or adopted, or his political, civil or religious liberty."

The People's Party

In the summer of 1854, all the groups who disagreed with the Democratic Party assembled in Indianapolis to form a single party. The Whigs, Know-Nothings, temperance Democrats and Free-Soil men united as the People's Party. Their platform supported the major goals of each of the groups represented at the meeting. It called for:

1. Restoration of the Missouri Compromise, no extension of slavery into the territories, and thus opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
2. The legal prohibition of liquor.
3. Support of Protestant clergy who participated in politics to oppose slavery and liquor.

The political campaign of 1854 was bitter. The parties gave the impression that it was a contest between good and evil. Of course, your viewpoint depended on which party you supported. The People's Party was labeled abolitionist and disloyal to the Union. The Democrats were accused of being

pro-slavery, but they argued that popular sovereignty in Kansas gave people the right to choose for themselves. The Democrats made fun of the temperance issue, which angered church-going people and appealed to foreign voters.

The People's Party won a smashing victory that year. They won all state offices and nine of Indiana's eleven congressional seats. They gained control of the State House of Representatives although the Democrats retained control of the Senate. The People's Party was most successful in the northern two-thirds of the state, while the few Democrats elected came from the southern part of the state. The economic and social ties to the Southern states made southern Hoosiers more willing to compromise.

As you might expect, the new Legislature quickly passed a prohibition law that prohibited the manufacturs and sale of whisky except for medicinal purposes, and then only by permission of county agents. However, the victory was short-lived. A Democratic judge declared the law unconstitutional and released an Indianapolis saloon keeper who had been arrested. The judge said the law destroyed the property rights of manufacturers, sellers and consumers of liquor. Liquor and distilleries were property that could not be wiped out by a law. With this decision the importance of temperance in political campaigns decreased. Besides, even the new party wanted to gain the German voters, who generally opposed prohibition.

Partisan Politics

As the temperance issue faded, Kansas drew increasing interest from Hoosiers. When the Kansas Territory organized to vote on the issue of slavery, both pro-slavery and anti-slavery supporters went to Kansas hoping to affect the election results. James Lane from Lawrenceburg went to Kansas to help make it a free state. He returned and organized a committee to raise money, arms and men for the cause in Kansas. Several respectable and influential men gave their support. Battles between pro-slavery and antislavery forces during the next few years led to a tragic nickname--Bloody Kansas.

The Democrats continued to support popular sovereignty in Kansas and Nebraska. In Indiana, their opponents kept the name People's Party although they began to send delegates to the new Republican Party's national conventions. In addition to strongly opposing the extension of slavery, they also called for a five-year waiting period to become a citizen. That would decrease the number of foreign-born voters.

Throughout the nation, the division over slavery was rapidly becoming a crisis. All elections after 1854 were intense. National issues were hotly debated, and events in Kansas replaced local events as front page news. Political victories in the election of 1856 were more evenly divided between the two parties. Democrats regained some of their power. There were charges of vote-buying and other illegal practices on both sides.

The Democrats regained control of the state House of

Representatives, and the People's Party controlled the Senate. This created a deadlock which prevented much legislation from being passed. Governor Willard faced a financial crisis because the two legislative bodies could not agree on appropriations of money.

Shift in Political Power

By the election of 1858, it was clear that popular sovereignty was not working in Kansas. Bloody clashes had taken place between pro- and antislavery groups. Outsiders had tried to influence the outcome. A pro-slavery Constitution had been drawn up, but many of its supporters were not Kansas citizens. Hoosier Democrats were divided on whether or not to support this pro-slavery Constitution. The Republicans (now the official name for the People's Party) dropped any mention of opposition to foreigners and concentrated on a campaign to oppose the pro-slavery Kansas Constitution. In order to avoid sounding like abolitionists, they did not call for an end to all slavery but urged Congress to stop the spread of slavery into new territories.

Republicans gained control of both houses of the state Legislature in 1858, but the Democrats elected state officers. By 1860 the Republicans had become the strongest party in Indiana, ending Democratic control. The greatest Republican strength was in the northern part of the state with its rapid population growth. The new Republican party and Oliver Morton, a man who became a leader in the party, would play a major role in Indiana politics during the Civil War.

Chapter Checkpoint

1. How did allowing popular sovereignty in the Kansas and Nebraska Territory change the Missouri Compromise of 1850?

2. Explain why popular sovereignty did not work in Kansas.

3. Give three reasons why people left the Democratic Party in 1854 to form the People's Party.

4. Explain why the Republican Party, formerly known as the People's Party, gained its greatest strength in Indiana in the northern two-thirds of the state.

5. Explain why slavery issues had such an impact on Indiana politics in the 1850's even though slavery no longer existed here.

6. Based only on what you read in Chapter One (and excluding what you know about them today), to which party would you have given your support in the 1850's--the Republicans or the Democrats? Specifically, which of their ideas appeals to you the most?

Unit III
Chapter 2 - THE CIVIL WAR YEARS

The following is based on the story "The Battle of Finney's Ford," by Jessamyn West, a writer with an Indiana background.

It's the morning of July 11, 1863. Stories of burning, shooting and lootings by Morgan's Raiders have reached the farm where Josh Birwell lives with his family outside Vernon, Indiana. Still in his teens, Josh and his friend, Ben Whitey, are determined to join the Home Guard to protect Vernon. For Josh, the decision is especially difficult because his family is Quaker and opposed to war. Against his father's wishes, Josh rides with Ben to Vernon. He was scared, but he wanted to do his part to protect Indiana and save the Union.

The two rawboned farm boys, Ben Whitey, a born fighter, and Josh, who was trying to do his duty, rode into Vernon together. On the farm it had been easier to see Morgan as a bad dream. In Vernon, Morgan became very real to the boys. He existed, he was killing and looting, and he would be here any hour. Anyone on the streets would tell them this.

The town blazed under the July sun. Both the heat of July and the heat of fear and excitement lay over the town. At first the holiday spirit reminded Josh of the Fourth of July celebration because of the bustle of activity. Horses and vehicles filled the streets, while voices--even laughter--could be heard above the confusion. Looking closer,

Josh realized there was no holiday.

There were wagons, buckboards and gigs all filled with women, children, and valuables headed for the back country. Men were digging deep holes to bury silver, money, or whatever they valued that a raider might fancy. Boys were boarding up windows and bolting doors. An old man sat on top of his house looking to the south with a spyglass.

"Let's get out of here," Ben Whitey said, "and find the Home Guard."

They found the main body of men on the west bank of the Muscatatuck. Josh and Ben were placed in front so, with veterans behind them, they would have to stay and fight. The heat was intense. Josh could feel sweat trickle down his chest, and he felt like an exposed target. Late in what had seemed like the longest afternoon of his life, Josh heard a scout say, "They're closin' in." Josh's heart pounded as he reached for his gun, his horse restless beneath him. A rebel yell pierced the silence. "Hold your fire and wait for the word," called the Captain.

A rebel, a young boy, came into view with a white flag. The flag bearer declared that they were surrounded and should surrender or 5,000 men would attack. The men decided it was a lie and held their ground. As evening came they waited, and Josh wondered when it would begin. When he had decided to come, Josh had felt himself ready to face killing and the encounters of war. The anticipation was wearing him down. War seemed to consist not of immediate engagements, but of continued waiting.

Josh slept a little until he was awakened by intense noises around him. Men were shouting, screaming and cursing as shots clattered around them. Josh touched his horse as he responded to the confusion.

It was daylight when he became aware of what had happened. Half conscious and sick, he thought, "This is war, falling over a creek cliff and cracking thy skull." It was sunup when his brother found him. The search had begun when his horse came home alone. Remembering his purpose, Josh asked if they had gotten Morgan. It turned out that Morgan had passed by Vernon. It was a farmer who had startled the Home Guard.

Yesterday's talk of fighting and dying seemed a lifetime away to Josh. What mattered now was they he was a veteran, even if he was not wounded in battle. He had been afraid, but he had stood his ground and that was what counted.

Questions

1. What values were in conflict for Josh?
2. What kind of a threat was the raid by Morgan?
3. What did Josh learn from his war experience?

Unit III
Chapter 2
Section 1 - The Call To Arms

News of the attack on Fort Sumter created great excitement in Indiana. In Indianapolis and other cities, people flocked to the newspaper offices to hear the latest development. Governor Morton and leaders of both parties addressed a mass meeting. Morton declared, "We unite as one man to repel all treasonable assaults upon the Government, its property and citizens in every department of the Union--peaceably, if we can, forcibly, if we must." The next day preachers in many churches called for their congregations to come to the support of their country. A long and bloody Civil War had begun.

That same day Lincoln issued a call for troops. Indiana's quota was six regiments (4,683 men). Governor Morton issued a call for volunteers. Would you have volunteered to fight in the Civil War? What causes would have stirred you to fight? Saving the Union? Freeing the slaves? Would your decision have been affected by the idea of fighting other Americans--maybe friends or relatives with opposing views? These are questions many Hoosiers had to answer in April of 1861.

In this chapter, Indiana's response to the call to arms and contribution to the war effort are described. Oliver P. Morton as Civil War governor was a major influence on Indiana politics during the war. The Civil War also saw conflict

among Indiana's citizens. Politics after the war was shaped by the response to Reconstruction. As you read the chapter, look for ways the Civil War affected politics and people in Indiana.

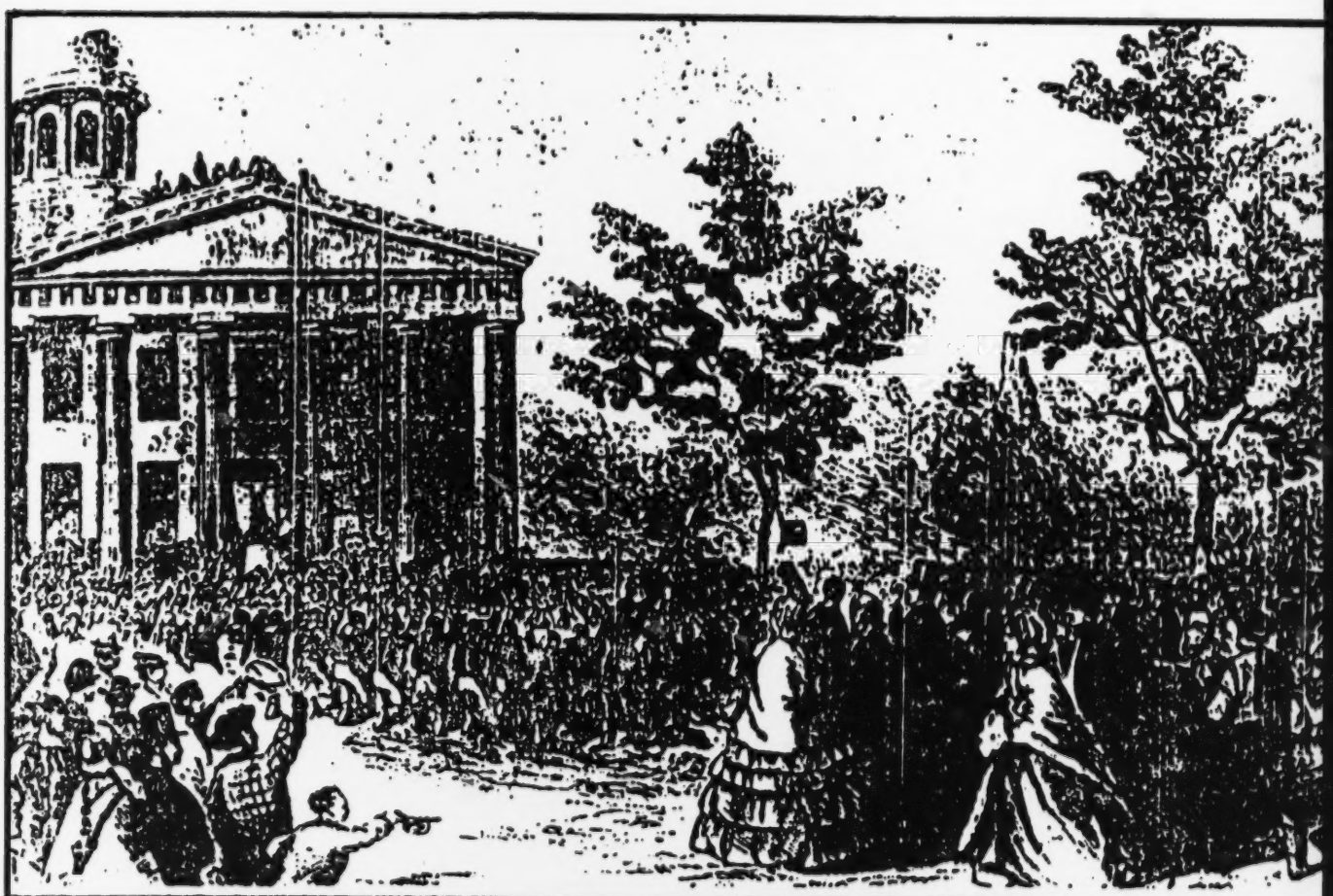
- What were Indiana's contributions to the Civil War?
- What effect did Morgan's Raid have on Indiana?
- How did issues during the War divide people within the state?

Slavery was the major issue of the 1860 election for state and national candidates. Republicans won a substantial victory in Indiana. When Abraham Lincoln, who grew up in Indiana, won the state it was the first time a Democrat had lost Indiana's electoral votes since 1840. When South Caroline seceded (withdrew) from the Union in December of 1860, both Indiana parties called for a compromise to preserve the Union. A joint resolution was passed by the Legislature pledging support for all measured to preserve the Union. Public meetings were held in some of the Ohio River counties, and people expressed concern that their economic interests were with the South. Governor Morton took a firm position that the law must be enforced and that the Union should not be allowed to separate. This was the situation in Indiana when war came.

In the days following Governor Morton's call for volunteers, men poured into Indianapolis. The Sentinel reported,

"Soldiers, or good men willing to be converted into soldiers for the emergency, seem to spring up out of the ground, eager to protect the flag and conquer a peace." Crowds welcomed the volunteers who crowded around the State House to take the oath of office. A holiday atmosphere prevailed. Volunteers

Indianapolis Star, May 24, 1931 -- Civil War



HOOSIER CIVIL WAR REGIMENT TAKES OATH—Draw- that appeared in the June 22, 1861 issue of Harper's ekly, made by James F. Gookins. It shows the 11th regi- nt, Indiana volunteers (zouaves) in the inclosure about the e Capitol in Indianapolis. Mr. Gookins, a member of Com- y I, had this to say concerning the event: "The regiment was ented by the ladies of Indiana with a splendid stand of col- , after receiving which the whole regiment, kneeling, with uplifted right hands, took an oath before God that, with h help, they would not only avenge themselves of the insults c at the flag of the nation, but furthermore of the contumely a wrong received by the Indiana troops at the hands of Jeff Da during the war with Mexico. To keep this oath more continua before them, they had adopted the motto: 'Remember Buc Vista!' as their war cry."

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were afraid they would arrive too late. In a week 12,000 had enlisted, more than doubling the original call. Newspapers which had been urging compromise now supported the war preparations.

This overwhelming number of volunteers from Indiana was typical of Hoosier response throughout the war. Indiana ranked second to all other states in the percentage of men of military age who served in the Union army.

After the first six regiments were filled, Morton organized five more on his own authority. This was typical of Governor Morton's leadership, which will be described later in more detail. Some regiments were recruited on the basis of nationality. There were both all-German and all-Irish regiments.

Men enlisted because of hopes for adventure, excitement, patriotism, and sometimes just because everyone else had enlisted. Enlistments slowed down during the winter of 1861-62 because of cold weather and rumors that troops in the field did not have adequate clothing. Union victories in the spring of 1862 brought renewed enthusiasm and a belief that the war would soon be over, so the war department ended its enlistment drive. But military reverses the next summer made it more difficult to fill a renewed call for men. Morton urged President Lincoln to use a draft, and in July Congress authorized a draft to be used if necessary.

There was resentment in Indiana over the draft. In Blackford County, a mob destroyed enrollment lists and the

draft box. As it turned out, the draft encouraged enlistments, and volunteers that summer exceeded Indiana's quota.

In Spring, 1863 a draft administered by a federal agent was approved. Colonel Conrad Baker was appointed to this position in Indiana. Men who were drafted were allowed to pay $300.00 or to hire substitutes to take their place. Some newspapers in Indiana attacked this as favoring the rich and discriminating against the poor. Morton protested this practice to the President.

Opposition to the draft continued. Enrollment officers were harassed and in a couple of instances they were shot. Some men simply could not be found to be drafted. Still, volunteer enlistments remained high. It was considered an insult to your patriotism if you had to be drafted, so many men enlisted when it looked like they might be drafted. Later in the war, bounties (sums of money) were offered by many counties to those who enlisted. The more a county could offer, the more recruits they attracted from other areas.

Earlier in the war, both Republicans and Democrats had opposed enlistment of black troops. Some blacks had tried to enlist and had been refused. But by 1863 attitudes had changed, and blacks were enlisted to meet the state's quota. Some came from Kentucky to enlist. A very high percentage of adult black males in Indiana served in the Union army.

Indiana's Contributions to the War Effort

Infantry Regiments	Cavalry Regiments	Heavy Artillery Regiment	Batteries of Light Artillery
129	13	1	26

White men in Army	193,748
White sailors and marines	1,078
Black troops	1,537
Total troops contributed by Indiana*	196,363

Killed or Mortally Wounded	Died of Disease
7,243	17,785

*Indiana's contribution is 4.8% of the total enrollment in the Union Army and includes cooks, teamsters and other non-combatants. The percentage would be higher if only those in actual combat were included.

A group of Indiana women served as army nurses. After the battle of Stone River in Tennessee, 25 women under the leadership of the State Sanitary Commission were sent to Nashville to care for the wounded. The government and the soldiers had unlimited praise of these nurses.

Indiana's troops fought in 308 military engagements in 17 states. They took part in a large number of major battles, mostly between the Mississippi River and the Appalachian

Mountains. Hoosiers were very proud of their contributions to the war to save the Union. According to one historian, W. H. Smith,

> "Three Indiana regiments took part in the first battle of the war, and an Indianian was the first to yield up his life, on the battlefield, for the Union...The last battle of the war was fought by Indiana troops; the last gun fired at the enemy was by an Indianian, and the last Union soldier killed in battle was John J. Williams of Company B, Thirty-fourth Indiana Regiment."

The Militia

In addition to men who served in the Union army, volunteers joined the State Militia. The Indiana Legion was organized in May, 1861 to control internal disorders and repel attacks from outside the state. Most of the militia regiments were organized in the counties near the Ohio River where there was a constant fear of raids by Confederate sympathizers from Kentucky. The militia also served as a kind of training service before men volunteered for the regular army.

The militia saw most of its action during the raids of Hines and Morgan. In June, 1863 Captain Thomas Hines crossed the Ohio near Cannelton and raided nearby towns to steal horses. Hines escaped into Kentucky, but most of his men were killed or captured by the militia.

The next month, Indiana was thrown into a panic by the news that southern Indiana was threatened by General Hunt Morgan with 2,000 cavalry troops. His men seemed more intent

on destruction and looting than fighting a battle and capturing any cities. They advanced first to Corydon, where they took fresh horses and ransacked stores. They swept on to Salem, then south of Seymour they turned eastward to Vernon and Versailles and entered Ohio where Morgan was captured. There had been great fear that the real target was Indianapolis, but Morgan merely made a sweep through southern Indiana and never threatened the capital.

The route of Morgan's Raiders through Southern Indiana. Heavy line indicates movement of the main column; light lines show important sorties made by small companies.

Indiana united to resist this invasion. A flood of volunteers met Morton's call for defenders. In two days 65,000 men--many more than were actually needed--gathered to

repel the invaders from Indiana. The state militia prevented Morgan from re-crossing the Ohio River and forced the raiders to exhaustion in the saddle. Morgan escaped once, was captured, and was put into prison. He escaped again, rejoined the Confederacy, and was killed in a battle in Tennessee in 1864.

"Copperheads" in Indiana?

Morgan's raid raised another question for Indiana. Were there people in Indiana who were Confederate sympathizers and would aid Morgan or other Southerners during an invasion of Indiana? Were there people who were disloyal to the Union? People who opposed the policies of Lincoln or Morton were suspected of disloyalty or treason. They were called "copperheads," because members of the Democratic party who wanted peace, including some Hoosiers, wore campaign pins made from the U.S. copper penny. The name soon came to mean anyone who was disloyal to the Union cause.

Politics played a role in the charges of disloyalty. As the Civil War dragged on, some people urged peace and a compromise with the Southern states. Most of these were conservative Democrats. They also actively condemned the actions of the Republicans, whom they felt were using the war for political gain. They opposed the draft, interference with the press, arbitrary arrests, use of military courts (see Milligan case, page 00), emancipation by executive order and other examples of increasing federal power. They wanted to

be able to criticize the government without being called disloyal by the Republicans.

Politics During the War

The political battles during the Civil War were bitter in Indiana, and the question of loyalty was a major issue. Democratic victories in the Legislature in 1862 led to Republican charges that the Democrats were encouraging the enemies of American liberty in their work of rebellion. They were also accused of trying to remove Governor Morton's military authority in order to help the enemy.

Rumors of secret societies and plots to overthrow the government developed. Union rallies were held by Republicans. They labeled the Democrats disloyal and all criticism of the government as treason. The two parties disrupted the Legislature because they refused to work together. For example, the Democrats tried to pass a bill to divide the control of the militia between the governor and the Democratic state officers. All but four Republican lawmakers refused to take their seats in the Legislature. They fled to Madison where they could cross the river if the Democratic majority tried to force them to return. The session ended without voting on important legislation, including bills to appropriate money to run the government.

In this state of confusion, tensions increased among Hoosiers. Newspapers were full of stories about plots to encourage desertion and draft resistance. Violence flared at

political rallies. Efforts were made to suppress disloyal newspapers, and General Hascall was placed in charge of enforcing this order. The editor of the Plymouth Democrat was arrested and taken to a military court in Cincinnati for calling General Hascall a donkey and speaking in disrespectful terms about the newspaper order. Copperheads and Union supporters destroyed the newspaper offices of the other side.

In this unstable political atmosphere the election of 1864 approached. Republicans feared dissatisfaction with the war, its length, loss of life, and military setbacks. Democrats had to work to prove they weren't unpatriotic, disloyal and treasonable. Since the beginning of the war, there had been rumors of secret societies sympathetic to the Southern cause. Some Democrats joined the Knights of the Golden Circle, a pro-slavery organization that had existed since before the war. The first chapter in Indiana was formed in Paoli. The Republicans had Union clubs and Union leagues whose purpose was to expose secret, disloyal organizations. As you might expect, the existence of these secret societies increased tensions.

In 1863, the Knights of the Golden Circle merged with the Sons of Liberty. By 1864, forty counties in Indiana were reported to have lodges. They supported states rights and were opposed to strong federal control. There were rumors that they had military plans to form a "Northwest Confederacy in southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois." The group was not very secret, and Governor Morton had detectives report

regularly on their activities. Plans were uncovered to purchase guns in Canada from Confederates who wanted an uprising. There were also plans for an uprising in Indianapolis to seize the government arsenal and release Confederate prisoners held at Camp Morton, but they never materialized.

In late August, military authorities arrested Harrison Dodd, an Indianapolis printer and minor Democratic politician. His correspondence and 400 revolvers were seized from his office. He was tried before a military court on the eve of the 1864 election. Testimony showed that there were plans but no real action in connection with the rumored uprising. The U.S. Constitution requires proof of action and not just talk in order to prove treason. During the trial Dodd fled to Canada, was found guilty in absentia (in his absence) and was sentenced to hang. Six alleged accomplices were also arrested. One testified against the others, three were sentenced to hang, and one was given a sentence of hard labor for the duration of the war. Those sentenced to hang never made it to the gallows. They were all released after the war.

The Democrats charged that the trial was politically motivated to gain Republican votes. Though Dodd and some of the others were involved in crazy and possibly treasonous plans, no evidence existed of a widespread plot involving all members of the Sons of Liberty. All of this helped to cast doubts on the Democratic Party. Union victories also helped the Republicans in the election campaign, and the Republicans were victorious in October.

Conclusion

Indiana had a reputation as being one of the states most willing to respond to the call for men to crush the rebellion. Even with all the internal political divisions, both the Democrats and Republicans agreed on the need to preserve the Union. This was the battle cry that aroused and united Hoosier soldiers.

Charges of disloyalty and treason in Indiana seem to be exaggerated. The publicity went to a small group of people. Morgan's raids seem the best example of Union loyalty in Indiana: men of all political beliefs quickly banded together to defend Indiana, and Morgan received no sympathetic support here. Furthermore, Hoosier sacrifices for the war effort do not support a conclusion that Indiana was honeycombed with treason.

Profile of a Civil War Soldier

The following diary was kept by Will Stitt of Wabash, Indiana. He was in the Indiana 75th Volunteers and was 19 years old when he began the diary in January of 1863. Punctuation has been added. Excerpts were selected to give you an idea of his experiences.

Jan. 5, 1863 -- 6 O'clock a.m. started for Munfreesboro. Laid on the street until 11 o'clock, then started to guard wagon train through. Marched 20 miles by 8 o'clock and then went into camp.

Jan. 6 -- Marched into Munfreesboro about 8 o'clock. Advance guards shelling the Rebs about 4 miles in front, hear them plain.

Jan. 7 -- (3 companions) and myself went out in battle field. Picked up a few (items).

Jan. 21 -- Regiment on fatiege (sic) duty. Cold as cold.

Jan. 22 -- In camp and warm. Pretty near got the blues.

Feb. 5 -- On the march. Marched 15 miles over very nice country. Weather damp, cold and disagreeable, snow and rain all day. Captured some prisoners, went into camp tired as thunder.

Feb. 7 -- And still a marching. 20 miles over a deserted country. About 11 o'clock Rebs make a dash on our train, beat them back and took some more prisoners. Rebs take to woods. 4 O'clock crossing Stone River. Marched into Munfreesboro at 9 o'clock wet, cold, mudy (sic). Hungry and tired. Patton and myself got drunk as fools. All in 3 years any how.

Feb. 26 -- Same old story in camp and raining like thunder with once and a while a streak of blue forked lightning and a clap of thunder.

March 1 -- In camp, weather nice. Afternoon John Laub drummed out of the service. Head shaved, letter D (for deserter) branded on his right cheek and drummed through the whole division.

March 17 -- Regiment on picket. Weather warm. Evening had a dance out on parade ground, two fidler (sic) and bugle.

April 6 -- Regiment still out, weather nice and warm. A spy (Rebel) detected and shot at General Negley's Head Quarters. Was in disguise of an old man selling Patriotic songs, had stitched in the lining a (letter) from Jeff Davis and in his shoes a map of all the forces and fortifications around Munfreesboro.

April 7 -- Weather fine. Regiment not back yet but reported fighting yesterday. Rebs catch two men of the 17th Indiana (stragglers) and tied them up to a tree and shot at them for targets, killing one and mortally wounding the other. Brought into camp last night at dark.

May 11 -- Very warm. Had picture taken for Jane. Boys out policing up new quarters, going to move camp tomorrow.

May 16 -- In camp and no duty but wash and clean guns for Sunday Inspection. Cap got his whiskers cut off and looks like a regular river gambler.

June 24 -- Got up at 2 o'clock, left camp, marched about 15 miles. Widens Brigade in advance of ours. Encounters the rebels about 5 o'clock at Hoovers Gap, had a severe skirmish. 75 Brigade gone up for reinforcement. Rain all day and night--our Brigade, though, in advance.

June 25 -- Took position on the hill to the right last night. 75th skirmished all day (2 men were killed). Evening rebels try to advance and plant battery with shell over camp. Col. Loomis and Capt. Lillie silences their battery and mounts 2 guns 10 o'clock night. Our brigade relieved and take position in left, near hard fighting on

the right all day. Still raining and rained all day.

July 14 -- Weather clear and hot. Out in the country seeing the folks and getting something to eat.

July 18 -- Weather clear and hot. Pay evening, went a swimming. Sent home 50 dollars.

August 18 -- Laid in camp until noon in cave. Struck tents--marched about 5 miles to Battle Creek. One year ago today we left Wabash Indiana.

August 24 -- Still at the River (Tennessee). Rebel Pickets got a little too sassy. Afternoon shelled them away from the Depot. Reported to be marching...A Brigade of Rebels to plant artillery to shell us out. Evening orderly and a Detail of 8 men gone to watch a couple of spies supposed to have crossed the river last night.

August 31 -- Afternoon Brigade returned to other side. Orders to pack up, move camp to the other side. Packed up but not transportation enough to take us across until morning.

Sept. 1 -- Moved camp across the river. Turchins Brigade arrived this afternoon and commenced crossing. Evening a man from the 75th drowned while swimming.

Sept. 4 -- Make an early start, 2 o'clock. Marched over the mountains, went into camp about 1 o'clock in the valley in Georgia. Out of rations and teams not up yet.

Sept. 5 -- Laid in camp until noon, marched across to Lookout Valley where the Rebels said they wasn't agoing to allow Yankees to set foot.

Sept. 6 -- 20 years old today. Prime of life and liable to be killed at anytime but haint much skert (sic).

Sept. 12 -- Started down the mountain at day break. Got down at 9 o'clock, formed line of battle and laid until evening and still laying here. Reported Bragg in a tight place surrounded. Evening skirmishing on the right.

Sept. 14 -- Morning orders to be ready to move at any time. Laid around until noon. Marched out to front and relieved Turchins Brigade in Picket--Rep Pickets--150 yards from us hear them talking. Wilders Brigade had a brisk skirmish with them this morning. Crittenden's Corps fighting on the left.

Sept. 20 -- Morning throughed (sic) up brest (sic) works on the left. Rebs try to drive us out but couldn't make it. Col. O'Brien wounded. Afternoon flanked us on the right--had to leave our position. Drove our right flank clear back, captured hospital, cut-off ammunition train and surrounded us. Had to cut our way out. Retreat. Turchins Brigade led the charge just as one man leaving the field sent a ball in my left leg. Col. King killed, Cap commanding Regiment.

And here she ends Thank Fortune.

Will later returned to the service in the spring of 1864 and marched with Sherman through Georgia.

Questions

1. What are the major concerns of Will? In his place, how would you have reacted to what he describes?

2. How does he seem to spend much of his time?

3. Imagine you live in Indiana in 1863. Write a letter to Will describing what is happening at home.

4. Using Will's diary, write a letter home to Indiana describing what it is like to be a soldier.

Chapter Checkpoint

1. Describe Indiana's response to Lincoln's call to arms during the Civil War. What reasons might you give for such a response?

2. Look at the chart on page 00. Speculate why you think disease took more lives than combat?

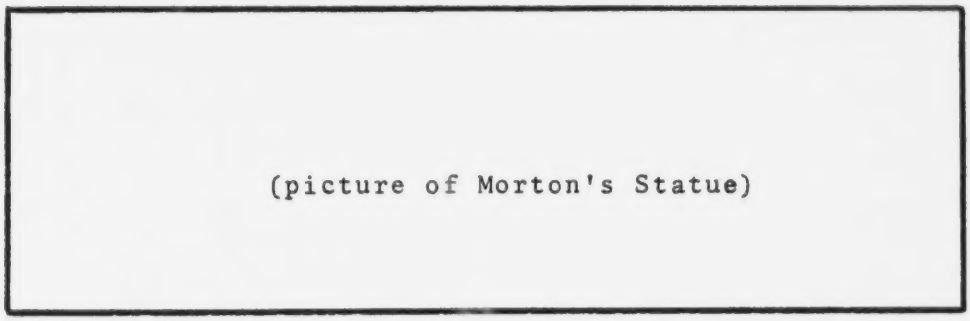
3. How was Indiana affected by Morgan's raid?

4. What did it mean to be called a "copperhead" in Indiana during the Civil War?

5. What seems to be the major conflict between the Democratic and Republican Parties during the war?

6. What affect did the copperheads have on the election of 1864 in Indiana?

Unit III
Chapter 2
Section 2 - Oliver Morton as Governor



In a biographical sketch accompanying his portrait, an historian described Oliver P. Morton as "the ablest and most energetic of the war (Civil War) governors of the Western States." One of the two impressive statues on the Statehouse grounds is the heroic figure of Oliver P. Morton. It is obvious that Morton was a major figure in Indiana during the Civil War. What characteristics--both personal and political--are found in such a leader as Oliver Morton? This is a question you will be asked to consider after reading about Morton as Governor.

Qualifications and Duties of Governor

If you could create the ideal person to be governor of Indiana, what qualities would it be necessary for this person to have? List ten or more characteristics and personality traits you would look for in a governor. Since most people would agree a governor should be honest, you might start your list with honesty.

Indiana's Constitution gives some basic requirements to be governor. A person must be 30 years of age and have citizenship and residence in Indiana at least five years preceding the election. The Constitution also states these duties of the governor:

(1) takes care that the laws are faithfully carried out;

(2) is commander-in-chief of the State's military and naval forces and may use them to carry out laws, suppress rebellion or to repel invasion;

(3) can recommend legislation to the General Assembly;

(4) calls special sessions of the Legislature;

(5) may veto any bill passed by the Legislature;

(6) has the authority to make appointments to fill vacancies in any State administrative office, among judges or clerks of any court, and among prosecuting attorneys;

(7) may grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes;

(8) may appoint and remove the heads of nearly all departments, commissions and governing boards of institutions. Many positions under these people are also appointed by the governor.

You have now considered the qualities needed in a governor and the duties he must fulfill. After you read about Morton you will use this information.

Morton's Background

Oliver P. Morton was the first man born in Indiana to be elected governor. Morton was born in Salisbury, Indiana. He

worked as a hatter's apprentice for four years before he studied law. After studying law in Centerville, Indiana and Cincinnati, Ohio he became involved in politics. Although he was a Democrat until 1854, Morton was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and joined the People's Party. Within two years Morton was identified with the Republican Party and ran unsuccessfully for governor. In 1860 he was elected lieutenant governor on the ticket with Harry Lane as governor. Early in 1861 Lane became Senator and Morton stepped into the governor's office. He took office during the secession crisis prior to the Civil War.

Governor in a Crisis

Even before Morton became governor, he showed his strength of conviction at a victory rally for Lincoln. He declared,

> "We are a nation, one and indivisible...and especially must we of the inland states cling to the national idea. Shall we now surrender the nation without a struggle and let the Union go with merely a few hard words?...If it was worth a bloody struggle to establish this nation, it is worth one to preserve it."

Morton denounced conciliation of any kind. During the early weeks of Lincoln's administration, when little appeared to be happening, Morton made a special trip to Washington. He assured Lincoln that Indiana would support strong action against the seceding states and promised him 6,000 troops to enforce the law. Morton was ready to fight to preserve the Union.

Role of the War Governor

With the beginning of war, partisan (party) feelings were temporarily put aside in the patriotic desire to take action. Morton urged legislators to "rise above considerations of party and to inaugurate the era when there shall be but one party, and that for our country." The Legislature responded with a resolution to supply men and money for the Union's defense. Measures were passed giving Morton authority to borrow and spend funds for the purchase of arms and maintenance of troops.

In the early stages of the war, much of the war effort was assumed by the states. The role of the war governor was important, and Morton showed himself to be an outstanding organizer and an effective recruiter. The states had to supply the flood of volunteers, and Morton took action to purchase arms and supplies on the open market. On his own authority and without legislative action, a state arsenal was organized to furnish bullets.

Morton took an active interest in supplying the troops. The Federal government would not furnish uniforms until companies were full, the men mustered in, and the officers commissioned. This was too slow for the Governor. He insisted the state put men in uniform as soon as they enlisted and passed a physical. He believed that the sight of men in uniform encouraged others to enlist. These actions caused competition between Federal and state agents for goods in short supply. That caused prices to soar, and the Federal

government asked Morton to withdraw his agents. However, state activities continued.

In the field, Morton and state agents continued their concern for Hoosier soldiers. The Governor personally supervised many details connected with the troops. He visited training camps and battlefields. One soldier recalled how the Governor, "talked to the boys as though they belonged to his family." Morton and his staff communicated on a large scale with officers of Indiana regiments in the field. Soldiers were encouraged to write. Though the Federal government took over the task of feeding the troops, the state had a roving investigator who reported the needs of soldiers in the field to Morton. This concern led to the title "Soldier's friend." The title was well-deserved and meant a great deal to Morton.

Morton wanted as many wounded Hoosier soldiers as possible to be cared for in hospitals in Indiana. Arrangements were made to return the wounded to hospitals at Evansville, New Albany, and Indianapolis. Hospitals were also set up at the front. In the winter of 1863, Morton negotiated with the Confederates to send food, clothing, and blankets to Indiana troops held as prisoners of war in Richmond.

Morton received much praise for his actions. The New York Tribune wrote, "In all our armies from Kansas to the Potomac, everywhere I have met Indiana troops, I have encountered some officer of Governor Morton going about among them...Would that the same tender care could be extended to

everyman from whatever state, who is fighting the battles of the republic."

Morton's actions led to conflict with the Federal government. For example, early in the war Morton wanted to supply Indiana troops with additional clothing. General Halleck refused the offer, but Morton finally managed to send the supplies from Indianapolis. Later, Morton wanted to bring 500 sick soldiers home on furlough. When the General refused, Morton went over his head to the Secretary of War and received permission. Indiana was accused of recognizing state lines even on the battlefield. When Morton was impatient with the military efforts of the Union, he would make his views known to Lincoln or the War Department.

Morton's friendly relationship with the soldiers had political implications. In the close election of 1864, Morton campaigned with Lincoln to allow Indiana troops furloughs to come home and vote. He made two trips to Washington to state his case with the President. He had previously put agents in the field to canvass the soldiers and felt that their vote was important to Republicans. Few soldiers were actually furloughed, although the sick and wounded returned to vote. Morton persuaded Secretary of War Stanton to allow those who had come home to vote in October to stay through the November election. After the war, soldiers continued to support Morton. It was a Civil War Veterans organization that financed the Statehouse statue of Morton.

Morton had great power to select and promote officers.

Often commands (positions) were given as rewards for recruiting efforts. Men who had no military experience were encouraged by Morton to take command and urge men to recruit. Conrad Baker, a middle-aged Evansville lawyer, commanded a cavalry regiment. Benjamin Harrison, who had been elected Reporter of the Indiana Supreme Court, commanded a regiment at Morton's urging. Morton was under pressure to make appointments to pay political debts. Early in the war Republicans criticized Morton for appointing Democrats, and urged him to strengthen their party with appointments. Advancement for anyone was difficult without Morton's support.

The Governor and Political Conflict

The personality and methods of Morton created fear and anger among his Democratic opponents. They felt he was using the war to further his own political interests. A leading Democratic newspaper referred to Morton as "His Excellency." Rumors of conspiracy against Morton by the Democratic Legislature of 1863 brought threats from friendly officers in the field that they would return and "exterminate treason in the North." Morton knew of their plans and gave his approval.

In the divided Legislature of 1863, you will remember, legislation was halted when the Republicans fled. Since they were left without appropriations, Democrats expected Morton to call a special session of the Legislature to secure money for the next two years. Morton felt that to recall the Democrats would be dangerous, so he raised the money by a series of method outside the usual lawful means.

The Democrats tried to prevent Morton from using funds already in the state treasury. The state Auditor, a Democrat, refused to release the money on the grounds that it had not been appropriated by the Legislature. Indiana's Supreme Court, controlled by Democrats, upheld this refusal as legal. Governor Morton went to a New York bank to borrow money. Over two years he borrowed about $600,000 for the state. He was resourceful in the other ways and he acquired the money to run Indiana. The Federal government assumed some of the state's military debts. Morton had a friend in Secretary of War Stanton, who advanced him $250,000 out of a special fund he had for states threatened by rebellion. Morton also appealed to Republican county commissioners and private individuals to advance him money.

After Morton had the money, he could not put it in the state treasury because he could not force the Democratic treasurers to pay it out. So he organized his own bureau of finance under his military secretary, who was responsible to Morton alone. The money was kept in a safe in the Governor's office. For two years Indiana was run by money raised and controlled by the Governor. The Democrats raged at Morton, but they could not stop him. One speech said, "The public treasure of the state was, in fact, in the breeches pocket of Governor Morton, or in his illegal bureau of finance."

In 1864 Morton was elected to his own term as Governor. The legality of this was questioned, because the governor is limited to one term. The Republicans answered this by

asserting that in 1860 Morton had been elected Lieutenant Governor. This was the election with talk of plots and conspiracies (see page 00). Morton was accused of playing politics in the handling of the Sons of Liberty arrests. Though Morton had full knowledge of what was going on, the arrests and trials took place on the eve of the election. Democrats hinted that Morton and the military helped Dodd escape to Canada. Historians have suggested Morton played a cat-and-mouse game with the Sons of Liberty. He knew all of their plans and moves and he could have wiped them out at any time, but he allowed them to grow. If a real threat had existed, he surely would have arrested them before the planned uprising date and not after. The arrests and trials cast doubts on the loyalty of all Democrats. We also know that Morton used his influence in Washington to have soldiers returned home to Indiana to vote in the election of 1864.

After the war, Morton felt that the decision on black suffrage should be left to the states. He supported a moderate approach to Reconstruction. When the political atmosphere changed, Morton changed his views to remain in step with the Republican Party. The Republican Party was strong after the war, and Morton was seen as the governor who had successfully led Indiana during the Union victory. Morton used this during his political career to gain strong support from veterans.

Until his death in 1877 Oliver P. Morton was the most powerful figure in the Indiana Republican Party. He became a

U.S. Senator in 1867 after the war. He exerted influence in his home state and in national party circles. As Governor he had opposed suffrage (voting rights) for blacks, but by the time he was senator his position had shifted drastically. He became a strong radical Republican who supported suffrage for blacks and congressional control of Reconstruction. Morton's political goal was the Presidency, but he never received the nomination. The death of Morton ended an era in Indiana politics.

Unit III
Chapter 2
Section 3 - Post-War Politics

- How did Reconstruction affect Indiana politics?
- How were the old war issues kept alive in political campaigns after the war?
- What political changes took place because of economic problems in Indiana in the 1870's?

For several years after the Civil War, issues and problems growing out of the war dominated Indiana politics. The treatment of the South and the status of freed blacks were major issues. The political rights gained by former slaves applied to blacks in Indiana. This kept race-related issues alive.

The Republicans continued to be the dominant party after the war. They continued to attack the loyalty of the Democrats and took credit for preserving the Union. The Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of Civil War veterans, played a major role in electing Republicans.

We now turn to the issues affecting post-war politics and the effects of Reconstruction on Indiana. The reasons for the return of a strong Democratic Party by the mid-1870's will be explained.

Reaction to Emancipation Proclamation

On January 1, 1863 President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation which freed the slaves in areas still

controlled by the South. Most Democrats opposed the President's stand. They felt it would divide the North and strengthen the resolve of the South to resist. There also was concern that the North would be flooded with free blacks who would compete with whites for jobs. Hoosier Democrats in Congress refused to vote for the 13th Amendment (freeing the slaves) although it became obvious by early 1865 that slavery was doomed.

The antislavery element in the Republican Party hailed the Proclamation as the "grandest and brightest act in history." Most Republicans saw the Proclamation as a military necessity, a way to cripple the South. Toward the end of the war, Republicans felt slavery had been a major cause of the war and must be ended for a lasting peace. Governor Morton at the state convention in 1864 declared that emancipation was "not only sanctioned by the laws of war and upheld by the Constitution" but was "in especial harmony with the principles of eternal justice." The day after the speech, the Indianapolis Journal denounced as "Copperheads" anyone who opposed the end of slavery.

The War Ends

As the Union victory brought the war to an end, the Republican-dominated Legislature supported Governor Morton in his wartime acts. State finances were found to be in good order, a bill was passed to repay any borrowed money, and the 13th Amendment (abolishing slavery) was ratified by Indiana.

The Republicans were thrown into a state of confusion with Lincoln's death. They were loyal to Andrew Johnson but unsure of his position towards the South. Some Republicans, including Morton, supported moderate (easier) policies, but others were radicals who wanted to punish the Southern states. Morton agreed with Johnson's hesitation to act on the question of black suffrage (the right to vote). He felt that blacks, just emerging from slavery, were not qualified to vote. There also was concern that blacks would control Southern governments. Morton urged a period of education and supported civil rights for blacks. The only prominent Indiana Republican to urge suffrage for blacks was George Julian, who had been a well-known abolitionist before the war. The Legislature changed the law prohibiting blacks from testifying in court against whites, but took no action to provide education for black children.

Reconstruction

By the end of the year, Congress was feuding with the new President over how the South would be reconstructed. Most members of Congress were Republicans who wanted to punish the South and force them to protect the rights of free blacks. Indiana Republicans believed that the question of Southern Reconstruction should be decided by Congress. Hoosier Democrats, on the other hand, approved of President Johnson's more moderate plan for the South and felt Congress was too harsh. This set the theme for the election campaigns

in Indiana. Republicans accused Johnson of protecting Southern traitors and taking power from Congress. The Democrats' war record was attacked and their loyalty questioned. These accusations and elaborate welcome-home rallies were used by Republicans to win the votes of veterans. Morton cultivated his position as the "soldier's friend." Soldiers were reminded that Republicans had won the war and kept the Union together.

During these post-war political campaigns, the Republicans were "waving the bloody shirt." This meant that they kept the bitter feelings alive by reminding people of the war. At a campaign rally Morton stated, "The Democratic party may be described as a common sewer and loathsome receptacle, into which is emptied every element of treason, North and South." Another time he asked veterans if they wanted Democrats "whose garments were yet red with the blood of their comrades to legislate for them, to say how much bounty they should have and what pension they and the widows and families of their slaughtered brethren should have, if any." Democrats fought back with personal attacks on Governor Morton, saying he was a dictator. War had increased the bitterness between the parties.

The Republicans won the post-war election by a narrow margin. Morton now supported the radical Republicans' harsh policies. He urged support for the 14th Amendment (civil rights for blacks) and suffrage for blacks by an act of Congress. Previously he felt this was a decision to be made by

the states. Morton was chosen as Senator in 1867 and Conrad Baker became governor. A Democratic newspaper was very critcal of the departing Governor, but they described Baker as "straightforward, honest and honorable."

The issues and arguments remained the same in the five years following the war. The elections were close and both parties accused each other of importing illegal voters. Republicans, state and national, continued to win elections in Indiana. After ratification of the 15th Amendment (guaranteeing black suffrage) the Republican Party attracted black voters by emphasizing they were the party of Lincoln and Emancipation.

Demands for Change

By the 1870's people were growing tired of the old war and Reconstruction issues. Voters were also reacting to evidence of corruption among Republican officeholders. Frequently, when one party stays in power a long time, a few officials will begin to use their office to become rich or reward their friends. Now the Democrats were running on the issue of reform, and the Republicans found themselves on the defensive. The first election of the 1870's gave Democrats control of the Legislature. Corruption and incompetence in the Grant administration in Washington turned even more support to the Democrats. Even the Republican Indianapolis Journal admitted the need for party reform. In 1872 Hendricks, a Democrat, was elected governor but control of the Legisla-

ture returned to the Republicans.

After 1873 economic problems overshadowed other issues. The country was in a depression with bankruptcies and unemployment, and people demanded that state government take action. Farmers and workers became politically active as they searched for solutions to the hard times. In 1876 over 1,000 jobless workers met in front of the State House to demand help for the unemployed. They requested relief and jobs on state projects. Governor Hendricks expressed sympathy and promised to carry out planned construction as soon as possible.

Labor Troubles

During this depression there were labor problems in Indiana. In the spring of 1873 after a long and bitter strike in the Clay County coal mines, a riot broke out between white workers and black strike-breakers. Governor Hendricks sent in 80 state militia. The following winter a few troops were sent to Logansport after clashes there during a railroad strike.

The most serious labor dispute was the railroad strike of 1877. It began over planned wage cuts in the east and spread to Indiana. With workers striking in Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Evansville, and other smaller railroad centers, transportation was paralyzed. Governor Williams was asked for troops, but he refused. He would protect life and property, but he didn't want to interfere

between the companies and their employees. The railroad operators then appealed to a Federal District Judge. He declared that Fort Wayne was threatened by a mob and organized a committee of public safety to enlist troops for use if necessary.

Governor Williams then appointed a committee to hear both sides and try to solve the differences. The judge told the strikers to go back to work and to let the committee help solve the differences. The strike then began to collapse. Most of the workers returned to work with a promise that wages would not be cut. Federal troops were sent to Indianapolis, but they were not needed. The trains finally began to roll again.

Political Actions

Due to the troubled economy, farmers and labor attempted to organize politically. Labor groups attempted to form their own political party. They denounced monopolies (control of an industry by one group) and were for income tax and women's suffrage (right to vote). They favored compulsory (required) education and free textbooks. Compulsory education has always been supported by labor unions because it keeps youths from competing for jobs. The farmers organized a group called the Grange. They wanted laws to reduce the costs of government, uniform railroad rates, and no special favors to railroads. Monetary (money) reform was another big issue. Both labor and farmers wanted more paper money in

circulation. This would make it easier to pay off debts.

The General Assembly during the 1870's responded to some of the pressure. An act was passed regulating public warehouses to prevent discrimination in who could use them. Another law kept interest rates on loans between 6 and 8 percent. Another provided that a person whose personal property was sold for taxes could get it back by paying the purchase price plus penalties within 30 days.

The differences between the candidates for governor in 1876 illustrate these issues. A man with a farming background opposed an upper-class lawyer with ties to business. Economic issues dominated the campaign. Workers and farmers identified with the rustic background of Democrat James D. Williams. The Republican, Benjamin Harrison (grandson of President William Henry Harrison), was seen as aristocratic and unsympathetic to the needs of working men. A colorful campaign followed.

Williams had received only a fifth-grade education in a rural log cabin school. He had become a successful farmer in Knox County and was known for his interest in scientific farming. He had been a member of the State Board of Agriculture and won several awards at the Indiana State Fair. Also, he had served 30 years in the General Assembly and was elected to a term in Congress with Grange support. His most distinctive feature was a suit made of blue jean material which he wore all the time. This gave him the nickname "Blue Jeans" Williams. Republicans made fun of his farm background and

"blue jeans" suit, but his supporters compared him to Lincoln. During the campaign his followers wore blue jeans and formed blue jeans clubs.

Meanwhile, the Republicans tried to create an image of Benjamin Harrison like the one used in his grandfather's campaign. But his wealthy background and reserved and stern personality made the image of a log cabin-born, backwoodsy, homespun person hard to believe. Harrison was pictured by his opponents as an aristocrat with no sympathy for the common people. He was labeled the "kid gloves candidate" who had "too many brains and not enough feelings."

Campaign songs were widely used. The following are some examples.

A.

Delighted and hopeful we anchor
Our trust in all virtuous means,
For this as a weapon will conquer
In the hands of our leader, "Blue Jeans."
Then three cheers for the flag--our old charmer--
On the "Sage of the Wabash" it leans;
Three cheers for the honest old farmer
Who leads us, dressed up in blue jeans.

B.

With General Harrison brave and true,
We'll show what Indiana'll do;
Blue Jeans Williams can't come in,
The color's alright but the cloth's too thin.

C.

The Boys in Blue and soldiers true
Are shouting loud for General Ben.
While from the river to the lakes
He draws a host of loyal men.
But nowhere in the Hoosier State
A single voice or vote he gains
From Copperheads or ex-Confeds
For they all march with Uncle James.

- Which song "waves the bloody shirt"?
- What do you think the phrase "the cloth's too thin" means as a criticism of Williams?
- How did Harrison's songs try to link him to his famous grandfather?

"Blue Jeans" Williams won the election. Economic issues had replaced the war and Reconstruction as major issued in Indiana. The political activity of workers and farmers had begun to affect Indiana politics. By the end of the century, several government reforms would result from their efforts.

Constitutional Issue I. Repeal of Article XIII: Negro Exclusion

Indiana's 1851 Constitution still contained the Negro Exclusion Article long after the Civil War was over and Reconstruction had pretty nearly been completed. We learned earlier why so many white citizens wanted a Negro Exclusion Article put directly into the Constitution. They feared a mass flight of blacks into Indiana from the slave states, and they may have feared competition for jobs with the blacks. Other racist reasons certainly were apparent then. The vote in favor of exclusion of blacks was overwhelming back in 1851.

But how well really did the Exclusion Article work? Examine these census figures to see if Article XIII really was doing the job many whites hoped it would do:

9th Census Showing Immigration into Indiana and Failure of Negro Exclusion (Washington, 1872) and 10th Census (1882)

Year	Number in State	Increase
1800	298	---
1810	630	332
1820	1,420	790
1830	3,632	2,212
1840	7,168	3,536
1850	11,262	4,494
1860	11,428	166
1870	24,560	13,132
1880	39,228	14,668

From "The Negro in Indiana Before 1881," Earl E. McDonald in Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. 27, pp. 290-306.

1. Was there a steady increase in black migration to Indiana before 1850?

2. The Exclusion Article was ratified in 1851. Does it seem to have an effect on black migration to Indiana?

3. We see a dramatic increase of black migration after 1870 and even more in 1880. What national events might have caused such a large number of blacks to move northward?

4. Does it appear that Article XIII had any effect at all after 1870 in keeping blacks out of Indiana?

It should be very obvious that blacks newly freed by the Thirteenth Amendment and at least promised equal citizenship rights under the Fourteenth Amendment were now moving much

more freely than in the past. No old-fashioned Constitution was going to keep them out of Indiana.

So how did Indiana voters get rid of a completely outdated and demonstrably ineffective part of the Constitution? Many attempts were made by private citizens and elected officials to remove Article XIII from as early as 1855. The Western Yearly Meeting of Friends urged repeal of Article XIII in 1864. A year later Republicans in the House proposed repeal but were defeated in the Senate by a vote of 21-22. Governor Oliver Morton urged repeal in his message to the Legislature in 1867, followed by Governor Baker's similar words in 1872. The State Supreme Court referred to the Federal Thirteenth Amendment ending slavery in ruling that "Negroes were entitled to make and enforce contracts." The Court furthermore gave its opinion that Indiana's Article XIII was unconstitutional as compared to the U.S. Constitution. But the embarrasing XIIIth remained in Indiana's Constitution.

This is how Indiana finally repealed it. In the 1873 General Assembly both Houses favored repeal of the Exclusion Article and replacement with an article limiting municipal debt, but in 1875 the next General Assembly defeated the proposal. This meant that the whole amending process had to start all over again, as any proposed amendment had to pass <u>two</u> consecutive General Assemblies and then was put before the voters. The 1877 General Assembly and the 1879 General Assembly both gave their approval to the repeal of Article XIII. Now it was up to the voters in the next general election to be held in April, 1880.

Results of the General Election of April 5, 1880	
Vote for Repeal of Article XIII	176,981
Vote against Repeal	126,999
Total vote cast at general election	380,771*
Required majority of votes cast	190,386

*This means that voters cast more votes for races involving candidates running for office than for a change in the Constitution. Under Indiana's Constitution a majority of those voting at the election had to approve of the change in the Constitution, not just a majority of those voting on the Constitution question itself.

Since 176,981 was short of the magic number of 190,386, the Constitution was not changed. It looked like Indiana would be stuck with an outdated, ineffective, increasingly unpopular Article which was clearly in violation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution.

The Indiana Supreme Court came to the assistance of perplexed Indiana lawmakers and voters with its decision in State vs. Swift. The Court ruled that the Constitutional question was neither passed nor rejected. It advised the state to call for a special election where voters would only have a choice concerning the Constitution and not any candidates or parties running for office. This would probably mean less people would vote, but they would have the satisfaction of knowing their votes would count toward finally getting something done about Article XIII.

In a special election held on March 14, 1881, Indiana voters decided the following:

Voting for Repeal of Article XIII	126,221
Voting against Repeal	36,435
Total vote cast in the special election	172,900*
Required majority of votes cast	86,451

*In the Special Election some other questions--all Constitutional--were also being considered. Apparently more votes were cast in one of those than on the repeal.

This time the magic number of 86,451 was clearly surpassed by the number of those wanting repeal of Article XIII. It was a relief to most Indiana voters that our Constitution no longer contained the troublesome XIIIth Article, but it should also have been a warning to them about just how difficult Indiana's Constitution was to change. (Refer back to the Todd Case in Unit II to see how we have escaped the unintentional traps put into our Constitution long ago.)

Chapter Checkpoint

1. How did the Republican Party in Indiana react to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation?
2. Explain how the issues of the Civil War were used by the Republicans and Democrats in Hoosier elections after 1865.
3. In the 1870's what issues replaced war and Reconstruction in the minds of Hoosier voters?
4. Compare the candidates for governor in 1876 and describe their similarities and differences.

5. Explain how Indiana was able to repeal Article XIII of its constitution in 1881.

6. Select one of the candidates for governor in 1876 and create a campaign poster.

7. Write a newspaper editorial either "waving the bloody shirt" or attacking such a political technique.

Unit III
Chapter 3 - INTENSE PARTY POLITICS
Section 1 - Indiana's Role in National Politics

- Why were both political parties strong in Indiana between 1880 and 1900?
- Why was there a need for political reform?
- Why was Indiana important in national elections?

The fading of Civil War and Reconstruction issues brought no end to the great political rivalries in Indiana. Election results were always doubtful. Voters could tip the scales towards either major political party. This was true locally and in congressional and presidential elections. The Republicans and the Democrats recognized the political influence of Indiana and often selected Hoosiers as presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Between 1880 and 1896 Indiana is second only to New York in the number of men placed on national party tickets. In this section we will look at politics in Indiana and its effect on national elections. Benjamin Harrison, the only Hoosier to make it to the White House, will be discussed. Also, the pressure to gain Hoosier votes and the questionable methods used led to several election reforms which will be described.

Balance in Indiana Politics

From the Civil War to 1896 neither the Republicans nor the Democrats dominated Indiana's elections. Elections were close, and neither party assumed total control of the voters.

This created intense feelings between party supporters. An historian of the time described politics as "a passion as strong as religion."

Historians suggest several reasons why such an even balance was maintained between the two parties as Indiana approached the 20th century. First, Indiana remained predominantly agricultural and rural, with few large cities and no metropolis. Second, Indiana's population saw little of the effects of immigration; people continued to be very similar in background. One scholar described New York as a "Democratic metropolis...balanced by a Republican rural population." By contrast, "Indiana is doubtful because the voting constituency of the two parties is distributed evenly between city and country in all sections of the state." A third factor was the Civil War, which left a heritage of division and distrust. This helped to cement the harsh competitiveness of Hoosier politics. The traditional voting patterns of the war era persisted until 1900. Campaign issues seemed to have little effect on these traditional voting patterns.

All of this made Indiana a strong two-party state. Minor party candidates, such as those of the Prohibition Party, seldom were elected. Still, by drawing from the strength of the major parties, they affected election results.

There is also some evidence of sectional loyalty in Hoosier politics. The strength of the Democratic Party tended to be south of the National Road (U.S. 40), a region

of small farms. Poor soil in some areas led to rural discontent. Democrats also attracted poorer counties in the north and cities with large brewing interests and many foreign-born people. The strength of the Republicans tended to be in the richer agricultural counties of the central plain. Republicans also attracted the native-born, Protestant population in the growing manufacturing centers in the northern half of the state. Minor parties that supported farm and labor reforms attracted Democrats, and the Prohibition Party attracted Republicans. By the end of the century as population and wealth grew in northern Indiana, a trend toward the Republican party developed.

Indiana as a Presidential Barometer

In the last two decades of the 1800's Indiana was a crucial battleground for the presidential sweepstakes. Political balance was one factor in this development. Another reason is that Indiana still held a general state election in October. Since this election was held a month before the national election, it was watched closely for indications of political currents. A victory of Republicans or Democrats in Indiana's October elections might influence or predict the outcome in November. Indiana candidates were important in presidential elections.

The 1880 presidential election had Republicans James Garfield and Chester A. Arthur opposing Democrats Winfield Scott Hancock and William Hayden English, who was a wealthy

Indianapolis banker. Both major parties campaigned heavily in Indiana. Garfield wrote to his running-mate, "If we (Democrats) carry Indiana in October the rest is comparatively easy. We shall make a fatal mistake if we do not throw all our available strength into that state." After Republican Albert G. Porters was elected governor in October, Democrats increased their campaigning in Indiana. They were not able to prevent a Republican victory in November, when Garfield carried Indiana.

Charges of vote bribery and extraordinarily large campaign funds arose during the election of 1880. A Democratic editor in Kentucky published an accusation that Indiana had been "bought right out of hand" by a flood of 5, 2, and 1 dollar notes freshly printed for that purpose by the Republican-controlled U.S. Treasury. The Vice-President-elect hinted at a slush fund in Indiana. A few years later the Secretary of the Republican national committee admitted that Republicans had spent $400,000 in Indiana in the 1880 campaign. In another account by a reform-minded Republican attorney in Indianapolis, the chairmen of both parties' national committees had given out large sums of money in the Denison House parlors for their parties' causes. In some instances the wealthy Hoosier vice-presidential candidate English was criticized for not spending enough money, especially his own.

Whether money was spent by either party for votes or other illegal practices cannot be determined. Indiana was

not alone in charges of political corruption. This was a national problem at this time. The importance of Indiana in presidential elections may have inclined campaign managers to use any means available to win. In addition, the cost of presidential campaigns was rising rapidly. As today, it simply cost a lot of money to run a campaign.

Political Reform

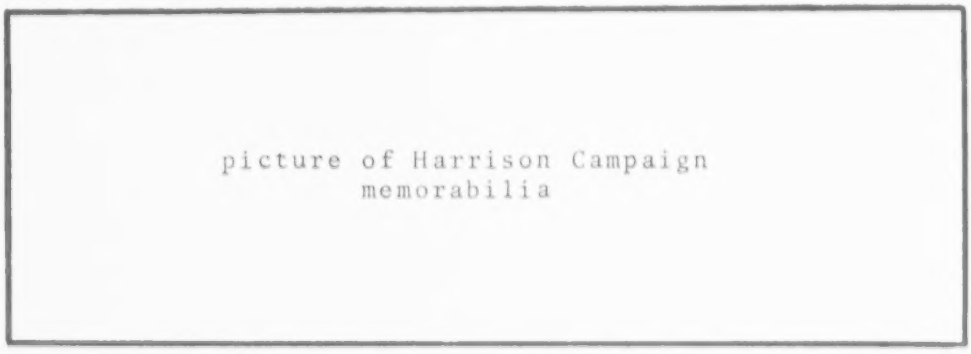
The decade following the election of 1880 saw several reforms in Indiana's voting and political process. A state constitutional amendment was ratified to change the general elections to November. This would shift national attention and money from Indiana's elections. The clauses banning black residence and suffrage were also removed, bringing Indiana in line with the Federal Constitution. An amendment was defeated in 1883 which would have given suffrage to women. There had been a previous resolution for such an amendment in 1865, but it was tabled before being voted on by the Legislature.

Hoosier in the White House

Indiana was a critical state in the presidential election of 1888. Along with New York, Indiana's electoral votes could decide the outcome. It was also a memorable and colorful campaign in Indiana. The Republican candidate for president was the former Hoosier senator Benjamin Harrison. If elected, he would be the first Hoosier in the White House

since his grandfather, William Henry Harrison. His opponent was President Grover Cleveland, who hoped to return the Democrats to the White House.

Polls showed it could be a very close vote in Indiana. Since Harrison needed to win his home state, he took personal control of his campaign and concentrated his resources at home. Thousands of political speeches were given in towns and villages by party orators who came to Indiana. Floats, parades, bands and picnics were all part of the politicking. In Indianapolis a group of business and professional men formed the Harrison Marching Club--later the exclusive Columbia Club--and paraded in blue flannel coats and trousers, with white derby hats and canes.



Harrison himself ran a "front porch" campaign. He did not tour the country; instead, he gave speeches from the porch of his home to some 200,000 visitors between mid-July and the election. His speeches were described as warm, short, carefully prepared, and well-suited to quotation by the press. It was a well-run campaign, and he was described by his aide as "the ablest political strategist I have ever known." Harrison's war record was emphasized. The Grand Army of the

Republic (Civil War Veterans Organization) in Indiana advised their members to "vote as they shot"--against the Democrats.

Cleveland campaigned from the White House. He and the Democrats tried to show that Harrison was an aristocrat and unfriendly to labor. Democrats spoke of the need to control big businesses. However, veterans were reminded Cleveland had paid for a substitute during the Civil War. His refusal to attend the G.A.R. convention and his decision to return captured Confederate battle flags angered Union veterans and pleased Confederate veterans.

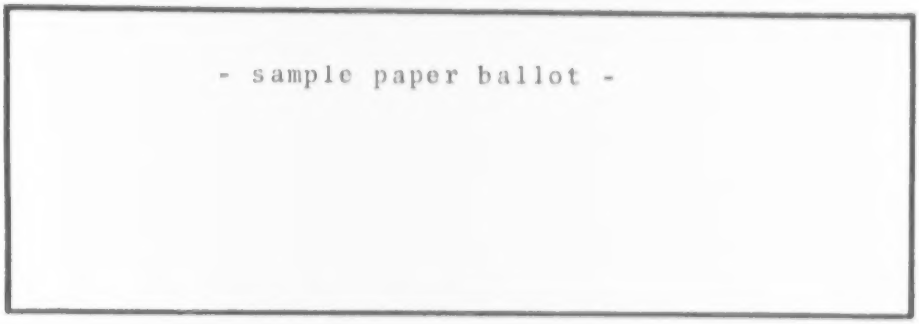
As election day approached, it was clear that it would be a very close election. The last day of October a story in the Indianapolis Sentinel shook the Harrison campaign. The front page headline read, "The Plot to Buy Indiana." It referred to a letter addressed to Indiana county chairmen from the treasurer of the Republican National Committee. It instructed party workers to "Divide the floaters (men who sold votes) into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket." The Republicans appeared to be bribing voters. Indiana Republicans denied the charges and called the letter a forgery. There seems to be little doubt that the letter was authentic. It had been taken by a railway mail clerk and forwarded to the Democratic state chairman. A federal grand jury later ruled that the letter contained no usable evidence of instructions to bribe. They refused to indict the author of the letter.

Though the whole incident had little effect on the election, it increased interest in voting reform in Indiana. Both parties had been accused of purchasing the votes of "floaters." There is evidence that this was regular procedure for both parties. With the pre-election publicity, it appears the 1888 election was one of the cleanest in Indiana in many years. One Democratic newspaper, the Columbus City Post, could only find evidence of Republican workers buying drinks for friends. In Bloomington a few floaters were jailed overnight.

Harrison lost the popular vote in both Indiana and in the nation. But he won the Presidency by a narrow margin in the Electoral College. Despite the hard campaigning, voting patterns really did not change. Although Harrison won the Presidency and Republican Alvin P. Hovey won the governor's office, Democrats won 10 out of 13 congressional races and regained control of both houses of the Legislature. Voters remained true to party loyalties. During Harrison's Presidency, he ordered the flag flown over all government buildings and urged that the Pledge of Allegiance be recited in all schools.

Voting Reform

The Legislature which met the following year showed an interest in reform. This was supported by both parties. Indiana was one of the first states in the nation to adopt the Australian Ballot. This secret ballot listed the candidates for each party in a column with party emblem, name, and a circle to vote a straight ticket at the top of each column. Under this new system the state, rather than the parties, would print the ballots. This meant ballots would now be



uniform in size, color and quality. Members of both major parties were given representation on the election board, and everyone except election officials and voters were prohibited from approaching within 50 feet of the polling places. A law was also passed to punish the purchaser of votes rather than the seller. Although these measures did not eliminate all corruption, they were a major step toward honesty at the polling place.

Conclusion

The reforms of 1889 brought an end to a political era in Indiana. The next decade would bring economic problems and renewed political action from farmers. This Populist Movement, as it was called, would shape politics for a brief time as Indiana entered the next decade. By the middle of the decade, the popularity of the Populist Movement declined as the labor movement grew. Increasing industrialization and urbanization were the forces shaping politics in Indiana for the future. The growth of population and wealth tended to favor the Republican Party. By the new century, Indiana became predictable in elections and the bitter contests came to an end. Indiana, however, continued to play a role in national politics.

Chapter Checkpoint

1. Give three reasons why political power was so evenly balanced between the two parties in Indiana in the last quarter of the 19th century.

2. Why did Garfield in the Presidential race of 1880 feel it was so important to win in Indiana?

3. Why was Harrison's campaign described as a "front porch campaign"? What political technique was he using?

4. Describe the voting reforms adopted by the 1889 General Assembly in Indiana.

5. What evidence exists that these reforms were needed?

Unit III
Chapter 3
Section 2 - Social Problems

- What were Hoosier attitudes in the 19th century towards Women's suffrage?
- How successful were Hoosier temperance groups in their crusades for liquor laws?
- Why was there a need for laws to control vigilante groups in Indiana?
- What gains were made in Hoosier education in the 19th century?

During the period after the Civil War, important changes were taking place in many areas of Hoosier life. The General Assembly had to pass many laws to meet the needs of a new society. In this section, we'll explore changes in women's suffrage (the right to vote), temperance laws, law enforcement, and education.

Women's Suffrage

The movement to give women the right to vote was first linked with suffrage for blacks. The first proposal that included voting rights for both women and blacks was introduced in a special session of the state Legislature in 1865. It was referred to committee where it was tabled (set aside with no decision made).

In 1868 the Hoosier abolitionist George Julian proposed a 16th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would prohibit the denial of the right to vote because of sex. The Indiana Women's Suffrage Convention endorsed Julian's proposal. They combined the issues of women's suffrage and temperance with a resolution that said if women could vote it "would eventually be the means of the entire overthrow of the liquor traffic throughout the land." However, the amendment received little support in Congress.

In 1871 a committee of women appeared before the Indiana

Legislature to ask for the right to vote. This led to the most serious debate on the subject so far. Opponents argued that women should not vote because the atmosphere at the polls was not suitable for a woman. Supporters declared that if the polls were so bad, men ought not be around them either. There were fears that the voting women would "revolutionize society." If women were allowed to vote, they would want to hold offices which would lead to women losing "all female qualities." The amendment was rejected 27 to 20 in the Senate.

The issue was considered again in 1881. Both houses of the Indiana Legislature adopted resolutions for a constitutional amendment to remove the word "male" from the constitutional article on suffrage. At the next session both the House and Senate were required to pass the resolutions again before the amendment could be submitted to the voters. The House passed it, but the Senate did not. Similar bills were proposed many times, but always with the same results. Success was finally achieved with the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920.

Temperance

Women's groups and churches continued to crusade for laws to outlaw the manufacture and sale of liquor. There was little support from politicians, mainly because of the political strength of German voters who opposed such laws. In 1868 a State Temperance Alliance of church groups was

organized. The Alliance called for a constitutional amendment requiring all state officers to take an oath to not drink intoxicants while in office. A small group organized the Prohibition Party in 1872, but it received few votes in the election.

The 1873 General Assembly adopted the "Baxter Bill." The new liquor law granted an application for permission to sell liquor only if a majority of voters in the ward, town or township signed a petition. It was supported by Republicans and signed by Hendricks, the Democratic Governor. Its constitutionality was upheld in a court test case.

German groups and liquor interests immediately began a fight to repeal the new liquor law. On the other side, groups of women began crusades to close all liquor businesses. Entering saloons and liquor stores, they prayed for the owners to give up their businesses and tried to force them to sign pledges to do so. In one town, the ladies were unable to enter the saloon and knelt and prayed on the streets during a blinding snowstorm. The crusade created great excitement throughout the state. In the 1874 election, many local contests were decided on the temperance issue. The next year a new law was passed to give county commissioners authority to give liquor licenses.

By 1879 numerous temperance groups had been organized. The Ladies White Ribbon Club, The Blue Ribbon Club, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union were a few who held revival-like meetings and pleaded with people to sign a

pledge. All the groups then merged into a Grant Council whose goal was a temperance amendment in the state Constitution. Such an amendment was passed in a special legislative session in 1881 but was rejected by the 1883 Legislature. In 1895 the Women's Christian Temperance Union successfully lobbied for a state law requiring public schools to teach about the effect of alcohol and narcotics on the human system.

In 1908 a special session of the Legislature was called by Republican Governor Hanly, a strong supporter of prohibition. It passed a "county option" law allowing any county to vote to ban liquor completely. Again, liquor interests combined with German and Catholic interests to defeat the law in 1911. The final drive for prohibition came during World War I, when anti-German feeling was strong in the state. A statewide prohibition law was enacted in 1917. Two years later, Indiana became the 25th state to ratify the national prohibition law.

Law in the Hands of Private Citizens

Hoosiers had always had a tendency to take the law into their own hands. People accused of crimes were sometimes hanged by vigilante groups before they were tried in the slow court system. Some of these vigilante groups organized in response to a single incident and then disbanded. But in some counties, especially in the southern part of the state, they operated more or less on a regular basis.

In May, 1868 the Reno gang robbed the Jeffersonville

railroad. Some of the robbers were arrested and jailed in Cincinnati. On the way to the trial in Seymour, a vigilante committee stopped the train and carried off the prisoners. The robbers were forced to confess and then were hanged. Afterwards, the vigilante committee published a warning that if property was stolen or honest men harmed, "we will swing by the neck, until they be dead, every thieving character we can lay our hands on."

Such groups also broke into jails and hanged prisoners awaiting trial. In 1869 Governor Baker urged the General Assembly to make membership in such a group a felony (major crime), but the Legislature failed to act. Although Governor Hendricks later issued a proclamation calling for an end to vigilante groups, they continued to function. In 1879 the governor sent 50 militia men to Washington County to prevent a prisoner accused of murder from being lynched.

Most lynching victims tended to be white and they were usually accused of theft, especially horse stealing. The frontier Hoosier tradition seemed to create an acceptance of vigilante activity as assurance of social and moral conformity and the protection of property rights. The Horse Thief Detective Association gave private citizens the authority to act as constables (law enforcement officers). In 1879 in Harrison County such a group warned several people "to walk a bee line in the way of good behavior" or face the prospect of a whipping. Finally, in 1889 Governor Hovey helped pass laws to control the "White Caps" or vigilante groups. It became a

crime for three or more persons to combine for unlawful purposes wearing white caps or masks. However, the activity continued until stronger measures were passed during the administration of Governor Mount.

Education

Early political speeches and Indiana's first Constitution indicated that Hoosiers valued education. The 1851 Constitution renewed the promise for a system of state-supported public schools. The period following the Civil War became a time of important educational growth with the establishment of a system of public education throughout the state.

As always, money to support the schools was the biggest problem. In 1867, the Legislature adopted a law which gave townships, cities and towns the power to levy (collect) property and poll taxes for the common school fund. The chart below shows how this law helped expand the number of schools in the state.

School Buildings in Indiana

Year	Stone	Brick	Frame	Log	Total
1865	65	440	5,770	1,128	7,403
1872	88	877	7,568	547	9,080
1876	81	1,418	7,743	192	9,434

Communities began to show more interest in comfortable, attractive schools. Attendance increased but the number of required days varied greatly from one school system to the next. Some school districts required 220 days, while others required only 60. In 1863, less than 50% of all children between 5 and 21 years were enrolled in school, but by 1880 more than 70% were enrolled. Most schools were still rural one-room buildings with one teacher and ungraded classes. Attempts to merge several one-room schools were often opposed. These early consolidation attempts failed because people opposed sending students long distances and they feared loss of local control. Later you will see these same issues arise in the twentieth century.

Educational improvement took place first in city schools. Under the guidance of Abram Shortride, Indianapolis began graded schools (including a high school) and adult evening classes in the 1860's. Cities such as Evansville and Fort Wayne developed similar programs. As public schools improved, private schools began to close.

The 1869 school law required the teaching of orthography (spelling), reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, physiology (natural science), the history of the U.S. and "good behavior." Schools could teach other subjects and languages as required by advanced students. Drawing, vocal music, elocution (public speaking) and German were typical subjects added by communities in the 1870's.

Before 1869, schools in Indiana were for white children

only. Blacks could only attend private schools established by themselves or religious groups. The 1869 law required school trustees to organize schools for blacks if enough students lived in the area. By 1873 all counties where black school-age children were numerous had provided separate schools. An 1877 law allowed black students to attend white schools if no separate school existed.

During the 1870's several attempts were made to pass a compulsory school attendance law. They were never successful. Opponents argued that it would cost too much to provide schools, teachers and books for all students. Those who supported required attendance argued that every child should have "this essential for good citizenship."

The public was more willing to spend money on elementary rather than high schools. Back then, high school students were usually older than high school students today. There was disagreement as to the purpose of high schools. Some thought they were a substitute for college and used them to prepare teachers. Others thought they prepared you to attend college. The economic bad times of the 1870's caused many high schools to close, but support returned when times got better.

By the 1870's, a teacher-licensing system was operating. Most teachers still taught in rural one-room school houses, and few qualified for the licenses. There was a real need for a system to train teachers for rural schools. In 1865 the state Legislature provided for a normal school in Terre

Haute to train teachers. The school, later Indiana State University, opened in 1870.

Consistent curriculum standards were hard to meet when each school could decide on its own teachers and books. The 1889 General Assembly gave the state Board of Education the power to select and buy textbooks. This helped make school programs throughout the state similar. In 1892 the first state manual from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction provided a year-long suggested course of study for each of the grades.

The school system was strengthened even more by a compulsory attendance law in 1897. All children between 8 and 14 were to be in school twelve consecutive weeks a year. These laws were expanded later.

By 1900, many Hoosier schools were still rural, small, and opposed to consolidation. In 1898 the State Superintendent of Public Instruction reported there were still 2,000 schools in Indiana with less than 20 students each. The 1907 Legislature passed a law forcing schools with less than 12 students to provide transportation to other schools.

Higher Education

The first Indiana Constitution had made it the duty of the General Assembly to provide "as soon as circumstances permit" a "State University, where tuition shall be gratis (free) and equally open to all." Indiana University was chartered in 1820, but it had to struggle to survive. At

first it had only one teacher, a Presbyterian minister. The Constitutional Convention in 1850-51 discussed abolishing it completely. Not only did the young university lack supporters, but in 1850 Bloomington was a small, isolated village that was hard to reach. However, there was a great deal of local community support for the university. When the main building burned in 1854, citizens of Bloomington and Monroe County raised $10,000 to replace it.

The Civil War led to a decline in enrollment at the small, struggling state school in Bloomington. The years after the war saw steady progress and expansion, though enrollment remained small. Gradually, the General Assembly improved the support, teaching staff, and variety of courses. The first woman student was admitted in 1867, and four years later 32 women were attending the university.

In 1869 the state Legislature voted to establish a state agricultural college using federal funds available from the Morrill Land Grant Act. Three sites were considered for the new school: Indiana University, Northwestern Christian University (later Butler) and the site of Battle Ground Institute in Lafayette. A gift of $150,000 from John Purdue, with the condition that his name be used, led to selection of the site in Tippecanoe County. Purdue grew slowly, but with a course of study more practical than most colleges. By 1875 women were admitted with "no distinctions in examinations, expenses or classes." Purdue, like land grant colleges established in several other states, indicated a trend toward studies

designed to meet the needs of an industrialized society.

The 1880's and '90's were a period of growth and expansion for state schools. Indiana University, Purdue, and the State Normal School in Terre Haute were adding buildings and students. By the end of the century, the Legislature had increased support for these schools. This indicated a commitment to state-supported higher education. A commitment was also demonstrated for elementary and secondary education. The promise of the first Constitution to provide public education had finally been fulfilled.

Chapter Checkpoint

1. What reasons were given for opposing women's suffrage?
2. What values are in conflict between temperance groups and those who would repeal laws such as the "Banter Bill"?
3. Why was it necessary to pass laws to control the "White Caps" or other vigilante groups?
4. What evidence exists that Hoosiers value education?
5. Compare the 1869 school subjects with those you are now taking. What has been added? What is no longer taught?
6. Name the smallest school in your area. How would it compare to the smallest school in Indiana in 1898?

Unit III
Chapter 3
Section 3 - The County Courthouse

Rather than look at questions that will be answered in this Section, consider some questions about your own courthouse:

- Name 3 services or functions that take place in the courthouse.
- Name a statue or monument on the courthouse lawn.
- What would a stranger to your town notice first about your courthouse building?
- Give one reason why you think people first decided that they needed a courthouse.
- How is the location of your courthouse related to the downtown area? Is it on the edge of town, or in the center?

The answers to these questions tell you something about your courthouse. There are many similarities between courthouses, so in this section you are going to look at some examples of Indiana courthouses. Much of the information will help you to learn more about your own. You may also find that you need to investigate your own county's government building to discover how it is unique. The functions of county courthouses may be very similar, but the buildings may vary a great deal. This may depend on the size and population of the county or the time period in which the building was constructed. You will learn that the courthouse is a public building with which everyone comes into contact during a lifetime.

The Origins of Courthouses

Towns have often fought for the right to be the county seat. Citizens knew that having their town be the seat of government for the entire area was a distinction that would mean increasing growth and prestige. The courthouse itself would give the citizens a chance to demonstrate

their pride and principles by selecting a unique and impressive design. In addition, people from the entire county would have to come to the courthouse to conduct business. This meant new roads had to be built and other means of transportation developed to connect backwoods settlers and citizens of other towns to their county seat. If you were to look at your own county's history, you may find that several towns competed fiercely for the privilege of being named county seat. You would find that the towns selected usually grew much larger than any contending town.

Because of the sense of civic pride involved in county courthouse design, an open and free spirit of courthouse architecture developed. This made county courthouses representative of a distinctly American style. Designs were selected to be the "newest and best ever" and had to represent prosperity, success, justice, and grandeur. Many designs were based on historical periods that were thought to demonstrate these lofty ideas. You will find Greek and Roman architectural styles on many county courthouses.

The courthouse square is another typical American scene. Usually located in the center of town, it was also the center of community life. It was a gathering place for many activities--both important and just plain fun. They were used for celebrations, to distribute news of emergencies, and as mustering places for soldiers. During the Civil War, war information and casualty lists were posted at courthouses. They often served extra duty as churches and meeting halls before these buildings could be built. From the beginning they were an important part of the community.

Many functions of today's county courthouses can be traced directly to the beginnings of county government. Their primary functions have

always been to dispense justice and serve as administrative center for the county. Since safe keeping of land deals was so important to early settlers, courthouses became the place to protect and store official records and vital statistics. County voting records are also kept in the courthouse along with tax rolls, birth, death and marriage registration, and basic records of property. The county courthouse is also where you will find the county court system.

Architecture in Hoosier Courthouses

Courthouses were built in the 19th Century to symbolize the stature of the community. Large, impressive buildings were built in a style influenced by Greek temples to symbolize democracy and justice. The location in the center of town was symbolic of the central role of the courthouse in county life. This was often emphasized by a tower on the courthouse rising above the surrounding town.

Many of Indiana's courthouses were built during the time period discussed in this Unit. Special laws in Indiana made it possible for county commissioners to finance elaborate and imposing county courthouse buildings. They were able to use the best materials and most skilled craftsmen available for their building projects. Indiana has some of the richest examples of courthouse architecture from the period after the Civil War to the turn of the century.

After World War I, the administrative functions in large urban centers grew so large that new courthouses were built on the edges of towns. With more office space needed and because of rising building costs, architectural styles changed. Skilled craftsmanship and fine materials had to be replaced by more practical and more impersonal buildings. Gone were the Greek columns and clock towers of a previous era.

However, the functions of the courthouse remained the same. It remains the center of county justice and administrative functions. Both new and old courthouses become a record of county history. Here you may find photographic displays to honor war dead or a roll of honor recognizing county heroes. On the lawns or in the buildings may be memorials to those who served or died in our nation's wars. Busts and portraits of famous citizens may be displayed, or there may be promotions for county industry or produce sponsored by the local Chamber of Commerce. Not only is business transacted there, but the courthouse holds a valuable record of the county, past and present.

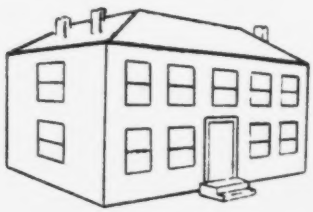
Examples of Indiana Courthouses

There are 92 courthouses in Indiana. The pictures on the following pages are a sample of the variety of architectural styles in Indiana courthouses. Look at these buildings carefully and then list specifically those clues which would indicate to you that these are courthouse buildings or buildings of importance. What features do they have in common? Which buildings do you find the most attractive and why? Which building looks the most useful and why? Come with use as we visit a few of Indiana's outstanding courthouses. There are many more interesting examples than we can cover here. If your county is not included, perhaps you could visit it and write a short, descriptive history of your own.

Corydon, Harrison County, 1811-12

This building was the first county courthouse for Harrison County. It is familiar to us because it served as our first state capitol building, and now it is an Indiana memorial. Its architecture reflected the taste of the settlers, most of whom had come from Virginia through the

Carolinas. The square shape, hip roof and centered cupola were all familiar features of buildings. A hipped roof is a roof with slopes on all four sides. The hips are the lines of meeting of the slopes at the corners. This style is known as the Federal style. It was popular in Indiana from 1810 to 1845. In Federal architecture the roof has no overhang and there are recessed windows with narrow frames.



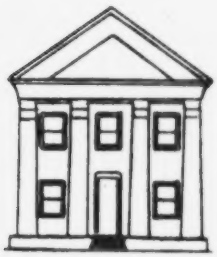
FEDERAL STYLE. Little exterior ornamentation. Little or no roof overhang. Rectangular in shape. Fan light over entrance. No window framing. Single or paired chimneys at either end or one central chimney.

Rising Sun, Ohio County, 1845

This is one of the earliest Greek Revival courthouses and now the oldest one in continuous use in Indiana. Greek Revival refers to buildings which resemble Greek temples. The roof of the rectangular building is pitched low. It has a portico supported by large columns. Though modest in size, the use of Greek-style columns gives it a feeling of importance. Notice how the columns resemble those on a Greek temple, while the porch and stairway reflect creative American courthouse design. This style was popular from 1830 to 1860.

Paoli, Orange County, 1847-50

The Orange County Courthouse at Paoli is another classic example of Greek Revival architecture. The two sets of divided stairs along with the



GREEK REVIVAL STYLE. Columned portico. Pilastered facade. Wide lintels. Wide entablature under eaves (cornice). Recessed entrance. Over-all balance.

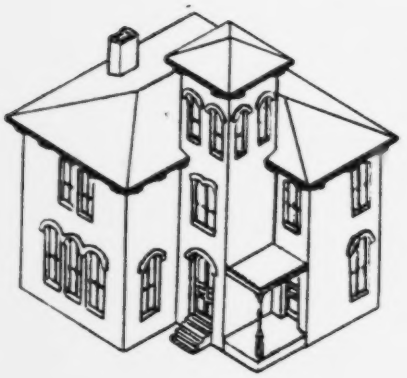
columns produce a monumental effect. Here is a symbol of justice, a temple of democracy that dominates the town square. The clock tower is a practical addition and was added later.

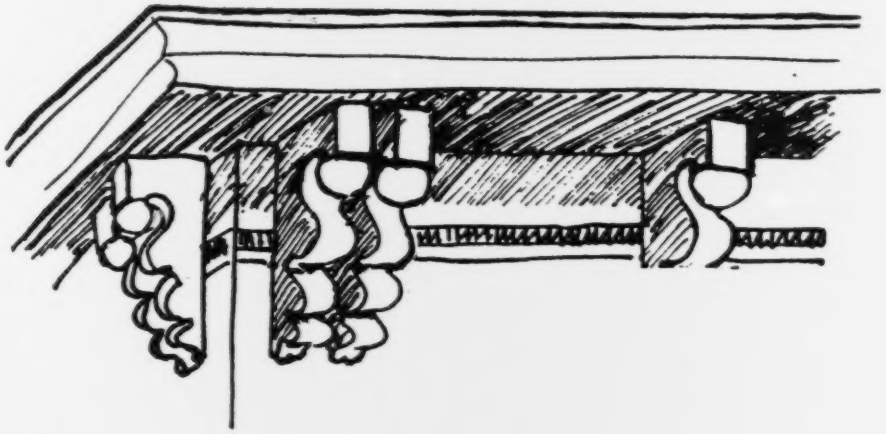
Greensburg, Decatur County, 1854-60

We can trace the architectural features of this building back to Italy, where the presence of a tall tower would signify the power and protection of the ruling family of a town in the 14th and 15th centuries. The lack of balance and the very tall square clock tower and flat roof supported by brackets are typical of the Italianate style. The main block of the building has been remodeled, but it is still basically like the original except for the stucco surface which was placed over the brick to resemble stone in 1903. It was designed by Edwin May, an Indiana architect, when he was 29 years old. It is unique because of a tree which grows out of the tower. There are those who will tell you it is watered by the springs in the clock.

The Jennings County Courthouse at Vernon is another example of the Italianate style.

ITALIANATE STYLE. Brackets under projecting eaves; low pitch of roof; round-headed windows, often in groups of 2 or 3. Sometimes with square tower, bay windows, and porch or "piazza."



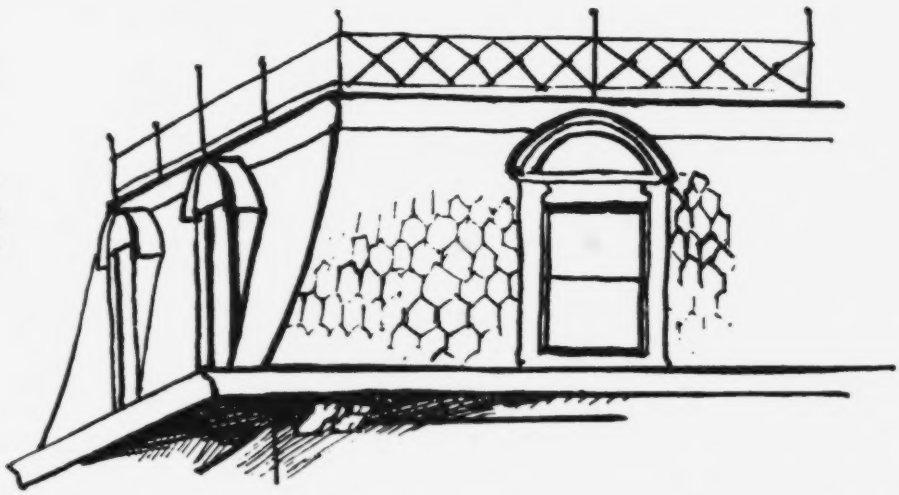


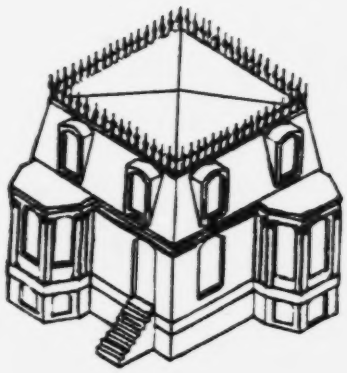
The detail to the left gives a close-up view of brackets, a primary element of the Italianate style.

Columbus, Bartholomew County, 1870-74

After the Civil War, many towns became prosperous in part because of the railroads that connected their towns with the rest of the country. In France, Napoleon III (1852-1870) was rebuilding Paris, and American architects borrowed many features of these buildings. This style is called Second Empire. The prominent feature is a roof with two slopes to all four sides, the lower one being much steeper than the upper. Windows appear in the lower part. This is called a Mansard roof. Buildings usually have iron ornaments on the roofridge. The Columbus Courthouse is a good example of Second Empire architecture.

SECOND EMPIRE style. The detail to the right shows the trademark of Second Empire--a mansard roof with dormer windows and crestwork.





Mansard roof, iron ornaments on roofridge, dormers, light decoration.

Hartford City, Blackford County, 1893-94

This courthouse can be classified as Romanesque Revival. The style was popularized by Henry Hobson Richardson, who is considered the father of American architecture. His ideas are reflected in the Blackford County Courthouse. The walls had to be load-bearing, which meant they had to be strong. Massive rough-faced masonry units were used. Low round arches for the doorways, different colored stones used in a pattern on the outside of the building, and silhouettes of towers and high pitched roofs are similar to French and Spanish buildings of the 11th and 12th centuries. The Blackford County Courthouse has boldly projecting paired towers running the full height of the massive walls.

The Starke County Courthouse at Knox, the Hancock County Courthouse at Greenfield, and the Fulton County Courthouse at Rochester are examples of the Richardsonian Romanesque style.

ROMANESQUE REVIVAL STYLE. Massive construction, frequently of rough stone or smooth stone cut to look rough (rusticated); towers and turrets with conical roofs; arched doorways, arcades, irregular fenestration (spacing of windows and doors).

Huntington, Huntington County, 1904

The World's Fair in Chicago, 1893 gave rise to the next style of architecture. Many of the buildings were done by architects who had

attended the Beaux-Arts school in France, so the style was called Beaux-Arts Classicism or Neo-Classical Revival. Coupled columns are among the most common features. Monumental flights of steps are also characteristic, and figure sculpture appears more frequently than in any of the other styles. The buildings usually have a central mass with wings and a central dome. Both Greek and Roman forms are used together. Many buildings were built in this style from 1893 through 1915. It can be found in libraries and post offices as well as courthouses. (See picture on next page.)

Shelbyville, Shelby County, 1936

During the Depression, buildings became quiet and restrained. Geometric forms prevailed, with flat roofs and tall, narrow windows. Hard-edged low relief details were often produced in the same material as the building. Buildings from this period had flat forms and no sharp and angular protrusions.

The Fountain County Courthouse in Covington is another example of this restrained modernistic style.

Indianapolis, Marion County, 1961

Contemporary architecture employs the use of glass and steel. With the high price of land and the need for more government workers, the buildings became very tall. Today we have "people towers" and practically no ornamentation on the outside. They are functional for our time with elevators and telephones designed for our use. County government is now a business, and the courthouse is now indistinguishable from any other commercial building. White County in Monticello and Delaware County in Muncie are examples of present day courthouse architecture.

NEO-CLASSICAL REVIVAL STYLE.

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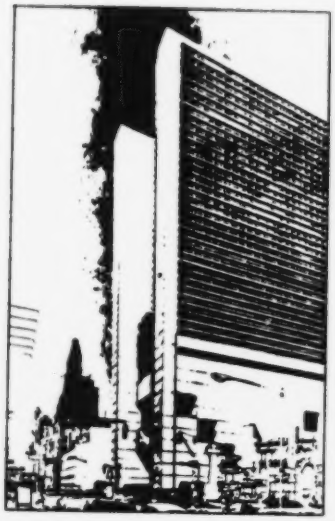

Marion County Courthouse reflects the style of Mies-van der Rohe. Look for rectangular forms of the utmost regularity and precision, glass walls, and over-all symmetry.

Keep in mind that most of the courthouses are not in a pure style but have many features. If you learn just the few details that have been presented here, you can pick out the dominant style of your county courthouse and be able to tell the era in which it was built. If your town is not a county seat, you can still enjoy a walk in your downtown district, where you can find many of the same details on the commercial buildings. Look up above the first story, and you can usually find the building as it was when it was built. Many of our 19th century buildings have been destroyed. Today there is interest in preserving these older buildings. We are most aware of the rich potential of our own historic buildings and feel that the past still has a valid role to play in our future.

What will be the style of public buildings in the future? Certainly the cost of energy will be a factor to consider in the regulation of heat in the buildings. Environmental factors will be important as well as computer technology. Can you think of other criteria which would influence the design of future buildings? Do you think they will be symbolic of the pride of the community such as the 19th century buildings were? Why or why not?